

ALEXANDER FALILEYEV

IN SEARCH OF THE EASTERN CELTS

**Studies in Geographical Names,
their Distribution and Morphology**



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Front Cover

The view of the Danube from Calamantia / Celemantia (Slovakia)
towards Brigetio (Hungary) (photo: Tatiana Demcenco)

Back Cover

Calamantia / Celemantia (Slovakia) (photo: Tatiana Demcenco)

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Foreword

This publication closes the project “Gaulish Morphology with Particular Reference to Areas South and East of the Danube” sponsored by the Arts & Humanities Research Council, UK. In fact it is likely to be the last among books, CD-ROMs and other self-standing publications on Continental Celtic studies produced at the Welsh Department of Aberystwyth University since the end of the last century. Under the general guidance of Professor Patrick Sims-Williams, who made the Department the major world centre for this trend in comparative Celtic linguistics, several projects aimed at the study of the Continental Celtic languages have been carried out. With Professor Sims-Williams’ retirement in 2014 it will be never the same again.

The central arguments of this book were presented at two lectures. The first was held in May, 2011, at the University of Marburg, and the second at the Celtic Studies Reading Group Seminar of the Welsh Department, Aberystwyth University, in February of 2012. I am grateful to the organizers, Professor Erich Poppe and Dr Simon Rodway respectively, for these possibilities to discuss the set of problems and for the most useful feed-back. I would like to thank Dr Zbigniew Babik (Kraków), Dr Milan Harvalík (Prague), Professor David Stifter (Maynooth), Dr Sergei Tokhtas’ev (St. Petersburg) and Professor Svetlana Yanakieva (Sofia) for their advice on various questions, and the staff (particularly Dr Gertruda Březinová) and the library of the Archaeological Institute, Nitra (Slovakia) for making my research stay in Slovakia in October 2013 most successful. The earlier versions of the book were read by Dr Natalie Venclová (Prague) and Dr Dagmar Wodtko (Berlin), who saved it from a number of inconsistencies and mistakes. The final version of the publication was read by Professor Sims-Williams, whose constant support and invaluable help during the last decade cannot be overestimated. Needless to add, the responsibility for the views expressed here is entirely mine. I am grateful to *Archaeolingua Foundation* and particularly Dr. Elizabeth Jerem for accepting this research for publication, and to the staff of *Archaeolingua* for their superb efficiency

Alexander Falileyev,
Aberystwyth,
March, 2014.

Introduction: In Search of the Eastern Celts

This work intends to find the most eastern areas of Europe inhabited by the Celts in antiquity. The outcome of the task depends enormously on the definition of what is a *Celt* and what could be described as *Celtic*. It has become a tradition that our positive knowledge about Celtic presence in a given area is based on the data provided by ancient historians and the archaeological findings which for the historical period chosen here are associated mainly but of course not exclusively with the so-called La Tène archaeological culture. In the last twenty years or so the relevance of these historical and archaeological records for the discussion of the “Celticity” has been severely undermined, although the application of the term Celtic for linguistic matters is still of course valid, see SIMS-WILLIAMS 1998 and SIMS-WILLIAMS 2012. To put it in more blunt terms, “*was keltisch* und *Kelten* für einen Sprachwissenschaftler bedeutet, überschneidet sich eben nur teilweise mit dem, *was ein Archäologe damit meint*” (BICHLMEIER 2011: 64). The revisionist trend in the study of the works of ancient authors has shown that the ancient authors should not be trusted *verbatim* on their accounts of the Celtic penetration in the East, for which cf. also TOMASCHITZ 2002 which is conspicuously entitled *Die Wanderung der Kelten in der antiken literarischen Überlieferung*. This concerns not just the massive figures they use to describe the amount of migrants – warriors and settlers – from the “Celtic West”, but more importantly the core essence of their depiction of the events happening beyond the Greek and Roman borders and in their vicinity. The validity of the notion of “Celtic archaeology”, so popular among scholars just several decades ago, has been a subject of a sturdy discussion, see recently COLLIS 2010. On top of that, debates on the Celtic origins recently started to take into consideration the genetic aspect of research, and it is also quite common that anthropological factors are taken into account. The latter are no longer playing the same role as, say, fifty years ago, and indeed a recent reconstruction by D. Zaidel of the face of the woman buried in Little Poland in the late La Tène period who turned out to belong to the Mediterranean type (see Rudnicki 2005) makes this aspect of research even more complicated. Generally, and regrettably, history, archaeology, anthropology or indeed genetics, neither on their own or combined, can offer us a positive definition of what is Celt or Celtic, to say nothing about the problem of “Celtic origins” which was popular years ago and is still addressed in recent publications, cf. SIMS-WILLIAMS 2012a: 16:

“If Celtic-speakers cannot be identified with an archaeological culture, still less are they likely to be identifiable genetically with any one group since (...) language is a cultural trait transmitted horizontally as well as vertically”.

Attempts have of course been made to surmount this frustrating difficulty, which, after all, jeopardizes the very validity of the discipline “Celtic studies” taught at various universities worldwide, and to offer a definition acceptable for students of all disciplines. By default this definition cannot take into account minor details and therefore must be openly all-inclusive, as in a recent attempt by Professor R. KARL (2010: 47):

“a Celt is someone who *either* speaks a Celtic language *or* produces or uses Celtic art *or* material culture *or* has been referred to as one in historical records *or* has identified himself *or* been identified by others as such &c.”

With such an approach in our search for the most eastern Celts we may travel as far as Japan – at least Celtic languages are nowadays spoken in classrooms of several universities there, and the foundation of Japan Society for Celtic Studies may posit certain questions for outsiders. This will, however, not be attempted in this work. It should be reminded in this respect that the intended research does not consider the problems of Celtic origins, and the views of the present author on the “Celtic question” generally concur with those expressed by Celtic linguists, cf. recently e.g., MCCONE 2008, RODWAY 2010, SIMS-WILLIAMS 2012 and 2012a.

To implement the task of the research outlined in the title of this publication several sets of data will be utilized. The most important is provided by linguistics. It is generally accepted that the geographical names which are Celtic (in this particular case – Gaulish), mainly attested in ancient and medieval sources, point out to the physical presence of the Celtic-speakers in a given area. Of course, the phenomenon of “Celtic Names and Roman Places” is known in scholarship (see RIVET 1980), and a possibility that a given toponym was “transferred” to the east with the Roman army or administration cannot be of course underestimated. Without a doubt, to quote A. Morpurgo DAVIES (1986: 104–105),

“indeed, the Celtic place-names scattered through England document a Celtic occupation of the country for which we have other evidence

too. Yet, a warning is necessary – and has often been given – against the danger of forgetting that place-names can also be carried round or acquired by people who do not speak the language to which the name belongs. The existence of Philadelphia in the United States does not document a large colonization of the country by Greeks and the *Cam-* element present in the name of Cambridge, Mass. does not tell us anything about the presence of Celts in Massachusetts”.

This problem of transposition of geographical names is certainly not a peculiarity of the data to be analysed below, and is raised here and then, at various historical epochs and geographical areas. This transposition triggers further questions: in the words of J. CHADWICK (1969: 84–85), “was *Bryn Mawr* in Pennsylvania named by Welsh-speakers who knew it meant ‘Big Hill’ or by English-speaking Welshmen who remembered this name, but not perhaps its meaning, from their native land?”. A query among the same lines may be applied, for example, for many compounded Gaulish geographical names in the Eastern and Central Europe, like *Noviodunum* ‘New Town’ or *Mediolanum* ‘(Town) in the middle of the plain’, and this question will be posed for some place-names discussed below. Generally, however, the toponymic evidence of a given region, particularly if accompanied by linguistically Celtic ethnic name(s), uncontroversially offers a possibility to discuss Celtic presence there, or, to be more precise – the existence of speakers of a “Continental” Celtic idiom¹. As known, the problems of pre-Roman identities and ‘tribal’ issues discussed for a while in regard of the data of Western Europe have become recently a matter of dispute also for the Western Balkans and adjacent areas, see e.g., COLOMBO 2010: 173–175, 184–185, DŽINO 2011: 198–199, DŽINO 2012, RADMAN-LIVAJA – IVEZIĆ 2012: 137. This study is in no way concerned with the aspects of these disputes, however interesting, attractive or controversial they may be.

Dealing with the problem indicated in the title, the following observation is seriously to be taken into consideration. It has been shown already on several occasions that in the Eastern, and South-Eastern Europe in particular, place- and ethnic names of Celtic origins normally come together in groups in a geographically restricted territory, see e. g., FALILEYEV 2007: 2–3 with further references. Importantly, sometimes these “Celtic” onomastic enclaves find their

¹ Note that ethnic / tribal name is used throughout this publication as a purely linguistic term totally without ethnic or social connotations. The term *Celtic* is used below as a synonym of “Celtic-speaking”.

raison d'être in historical evidence. Certain areas where we find Celtic traces in the toponymic landscape are indicated in various passages of the works of the authors of antiquity as inhabited by the *Gauls*, *Celts* or *Galatians*, for the origin of those see SIMS-WILLIAMS 2011 with further references. Archaeological data, which is traditionally associated with the Celts, quite often is unearthed also in a given territory.

It has been noted that this set of data shows in the areas to be discussed below a certain lack of continuity so that we may speak in terms of a number of separate although in various ways interconnected areas. This discontinuity traced on the basis of various sources pertaining to different academic disciplines, including linguistics, is perfectly understandable. Indeed, as P. SIMS-WILLIAMS (2006: 305) aptly cautions,

“there is no reason why the area of Celtic place-names must have been originally continuous; Celtic speakers may have passed through some areas too swiftly to affect the toponymy. The Celtic groups that eventually reached Galatia via Delphi illustrate this: they left no toponymic (or archaeological) traces behind them in Greece”.

The evaluation of the relevant archaeological component is slightly more problematic. As formulated by D. DŽINO (2008: 50), the archaeological evidence is not always supportive:

“the expansion of certain cultural traits such as La Tène is not necessarily a sign of conquest or migration of the social group that used them, but can be explained as a spread of fashion, utilitarianism, taste, exchange or change of identity-construction for various political, economic or cultural reasons”.

This view, as known, is advocated by a number of archaeologists, and is beyond doubts reasonable and sound. Moreover, as it will be shown below, for some areas where we attest linguistically Celtic geographical names we have next to no La Tène evidence, and, furthermore, certain regions where we find the former are associated with different archaeological cultures. This does not seem either surprising or frightening, though, and we find a useful juxtaposition of Celtic linguistic evidence with archaeological distributions in a recent *Atlas for Celtic Studies*, where it is also aptly noted that “La Tène culture and Celtic speech

tended to go together to a significant degree in the Balkans” (KOCH *et al.* 2007: 27). As for the “migrationist” approach to this set of issues, it is notably accepted by linguists although with important variations. As W. MEID (2007: 180) puts it, in such a discussion “you can’t quite do without migrations”, cf. further MCCONE 2008: 40–42, SIMS-WILLIAMS 2012: 7–9, etc. Generally speaking, enclaves of linguistically homogenous geographical names in a given language characterize zones of ethnic expansions, and, in purely linguogeographical terms, “when Area X and Area Y share, or fail to share, a large number of different place-names it is unlikely to be due to coincidence” (SIMS-WILLIAMS 2006: 26). It will be fair to remind here, that some archaeologist are indeed not inclined to throw out the baby with the bath water, and for that another quotation from DŽINO 2008: 58 will suffice:

“the spread of La Tène could not be achieved without movement of populations occurring in this time, possibly through small bands of settlers”.

Therefore, the methodology used in the present study may be summarized as follows: The basic data is linguistic. Place-names and ethnic names of Celtic origins are selected and mapped. The normally small areas, borders of which are difficult if possible at all to establish with any degree of precision, are checked against the data obtained from historical and archaeological sources. Historical data is to be treated with extreme caution, and modern interpretations of the passages of ancient authors are taken into consideration where possible. For the archaeological component of the work, recent publications by experts in this field are consulted. It is obvious that in this respect La Tène settlements (and burials) are of importance, while the majority of other archaeological features, extremely significant for an archaeologist, are not so relevant for the present discussion. Mythological paraphernalia in the areas, either excavated or survived in literary sources, is a question in its own right, cf. HOFENEDER 2005–2011 and recently HÄUSSLER 2012. This data, particularly obtained by excavations, will be nearly completely ignored below unless it has some linguistic significance.

It should also be stressed that unlike, say, in Gaul or Britain, not a single text in a Celtic language is found in these regions in antiquity, excluding personal names in Greek and Latin inscriptions, of course. Thus, although it has been suggested that IOOIIT VAPFSI from Romula in Dacia is such a text, it is in fact a bad impression of a Latin stamp better preserved elsewhere (see FALILEYEV

2007: 149 with further references), and a peculiar ornament on a vessel from Slovakia (OŽDÁNI – HEČKOVÁ 1987, fig. 9)² is still an ornament rather than “Iron Age Celtic Inscription”.

To summarize, if an ancient historian speaks about a Celtic presence in the given area where we find a set of linguistically Celtic place- and / or ethnic names, and if the same region is famous for its La Tène finds or influences (for cooperation between place-names studies and archaeology see e.g., GREULE 2009), the outline of a Celtic enclave becomes beyond any doubt. However, such cases are quite rare, and sometimes the linguistic evidence is not backed by any supporting verification of extra-linguistic nature. This scenario, as will be seen below, is quite frequent particularly on the borders of the Roman Empire and in the areas beyond its limits. It should be admitted, however, that these difficult cases are quite expectable. The Greek and Roman historians of antiquity were not keeping in focus all movements of barbarians in the *oikumene*, and their differentiation of the barbarians themselves, too well known to historians of antiquity to discuss here, is a problem in its own right. As for the lack of archaeological finds traditionally associated with the Celts in a given area, particularly as we go further east, it does not seem to be an insurmountable problem. In these regions indirect and circumstantial evidence is taken into consideration, and even the lack of collateral archeological data for areas which have an enclave of linguistically Celtic geographical names is not decisive for the present discussion unless there is some evidence that the place-names were indeed transferred from the West by the Roman legionaries or settlers.

In this work, therefore, Celtic geographical names are used as the primary and principal set of data. In the areas discussed on the following pages, the linguistic umbrella term “Celtic” is used indiscriminately alongside the term ‘Gaulish’; for the interrelation of these cover-names in historical linguistic perspective see SIMS-WILLIAMS 2011: 275–277. Indeed, both historical and linguistic observations point to the fact that the speakers of the ancient Celtic idiom in the east were originally from the West, and from those particular areas where Gaulish was spoken. No traces of Celtiberian (or, wider speaking, Hispano-Celtic) may be traced in Eastern Europe, although there have been opaque claims on the contrary, basically made by historians, cf. IVANTCHIK – FALILEYEV 2012: 337–339. Although Gaulish itself remains a fragmentary attested language, and

² I am grateful to Dr G. Brézinová (Archaeological Institute, Nitra) for drawing my attention to this publication.

our knowledge of this idiom is considerably restricted, also taking in account temporal and areal parameters (see the standard survey in LAMBERT 2003 and cf. also STIFTER 2012: 523–527 for a recent periodisation of Gaulish), the selection of Gaulish geographic names out of the onomastic landscape of the given area in Eastern Europe still remains a feasible task. The methodology of this linguistic procedure has long been recognized, and in conjunction with particularly Celtic data was overtly and explicitly dealt with in several contributions to PARSONS – SIMS-WILLIAMS 2000 (particularly DE BERNARDO STEMPPEL 2000: 84), cf. also SIMS-WILLIAMS 2005 and 2006; for the procedure applied to South-Eastern Europe with further examples see FALILEYEV 2005 and FALILEYEV 2010: 121–123. Generally, a set of purely linguistic aspects are normally considered in the analysis, which include the phonetics, morphology, and semantic of a given geographical name. The parallelism in the formation of a given geographical name with that found in the “Celtic West”, that is in Britain or Gaul, is of paramount importance, and identical West and East, toponyms in most cases, although not universally in view of the “Long arm of coincidence”, speak in favour of the linguistic Celticity of the latter.

Study of Celtic or Gaulish toponymy in Eastern and Central Europe already has a long history. The majority of the examples considered below has been included in the compendium of A. Holder (Holder) and a supplement to it by G. COUSIN (1906); see also SIMS-WILLIAMS 2006. Both works contain an extraordinary amount of non-Celtic forms but nevertheless can be fruitfully and rewardingly taken into consideration. In this study the results of a recent research, which accumulates the fruits of the earlier scholarship, are normally consulted. This recent research could be subdivided into several groups. The first comprises the works, dedicated to the linguistic analysis of (Celtic) place-names in a given ancient text. In this field two CD-ROMs compiled by Dr Graham Isaac stand out: *The Antonine Itinerary. Land routes. Place-names of Ancient Europe and Asia Minor* and *Place-Names in Ptolemy's Geography*; see ISAAC 2002 and 2004. For the latter source, cf. also a monographic study of the sections dedicated to Thracia and Moesia Inferior as depicted by Ptolemy in FALILEYEV 2006. A considerable amount of articles aiming at a study of Celtic place-names in the relevant areas, as recorded in the *Geography* of Ptolemy, are also known (cf. e.g., AHLQVIST 1976, BLAŽEK 2010 or BOGDAN-CĂTĂNICIU 1990), and will be referred to in the

course of the presentation of the data. The second group comprises the works within the project “Ancient Celtic Place-Names in Europe and Asia Minor” at the Department of Welsh of Aberystwyth University, namely *Ancient Celtic Place-Names in Europe and Asia Minor* by Professor Patrick Sims-Williams and *The Dictionary of Continental Celtic Place-Names*; see SIMS-WILLIAMS 2006 and DCC. The two volumes cover the Celtic geographical names in Europe and Asia Minor, and the areas which this publication is concerned are dealt with in these two books as well. However, both SIMS-WILLIAMS 2006 and DCC are based on the collection of place-names listed in the monumental *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World* (BA), and do not take into account most of the place-names, which are localized only roughly or not localized at all, which for the areas to be considered here is unfortunately very common. And, finally, the third trend of research makes a comprehensive use of various sources in the analysis of the Celticity of toponymy of a given area. Among the monographic publications belonging here one may name *Die vorrömischen Namen Pannoniens* by Professor Peter Anreiter, or my own work on Celtic Dacia and the Celtic Balkans; see ANREITER 2001, FALILEYEV 2007, 2012 and 2013. This type of work has caused reaction, and there are new elaborations on the interpretations to be considered below.

This publication consists of several parts. First, general problems of the study of Celtic geographical names in Eastern (and Central) Europe will be addressed. In the third section I will deal with the Celtic toponymic data of Eastern Europe in order to detect the eastern border of the Celtic presence in the area and discuss the general configuration of the distribution of Gaulish geographic names which probably point to the settlements of the Celtic-speaking peoples. Before going East, however, it has been considered to be appropriate to have a fresh look at the Celtic place-names attested in Central Europe. These areas are important for the present discussion insofar as they provide linguistic (and historical) evidence for the further Celtic movement eastwards and offer a perfect starting point for the analysis of the Celtic geographic names in Eastern Europe. Thus, in the second section of the book I will revisit ancient Pannonia, particularly the areas which nowadays comprise the territories of modern Hungary. In any event, this is not the core area of Celtic settlements in antiquity and the data collected in these regions, not unlike that of Eastern Europe, points to the migrational evidence. The Celtic toponymic data collected in the territories of the Czech Republic provides interesting insights into both linguistic and historic components of the research. Only then the data from the Balkans (in a wider sense of this term) will be

observed, to be followed by the survey of possibly Celtic relics of Europe further north and east, which in fact will be a final destination point. Going beyond the borders of the Roman Empire I will be locating the place-names in the territories of modern states, which may trigger a somewhat false impression. However, this seems to be a reasonable way to discuss the data in terms of the localizations and make it convenient for a reader who is not completely aware of the geography of the area. It is clear, though, that in antiquity the enclaves of Celtic-speakers of what is now Western Ukraine cannot be separated from those in Eastern Slovakia, and the maps provided³ may facilitate the localisations discussed here.

The last part of this publication is entirely dedicated to the linguistic matters. Continental Celtic word formation is nearly ignored in modern Celtic and indeed Indo-European studies (LIV and NIL are notable exceptions), most interest being paid to the data of the so-called “Insular” Celtic languages. It would be unfair to suggest, though, that there are no publications on this subject matter. Scholars are aware, of course, of two monographic studies of Gaulish compounded forms by the late Professor K. H. Schmidt (KGP) and Professor D. Ellis Evans (GPN). Although these two books were published several decades ago, they still remain standard and distinguished discussions of nominal composition in Gaulish. Aspects of affixation in Gaulish have been studied by several renowned academics, among them Professor Paul Russell and Professor Pierre-Yves Lambert. Various comments on word formation of Celtic geographical names are found in quite a few publications dedicated to their analysis in various areas, see e.g., a useful summary of morphological traits of the geographical names in Italy and Ireland offered by P. DE BERNARDO STEMPEL (2000: 105–106). It is not surprising that Continental Celtic word-formation was the focus of a recent conference held in Salamanca; see the contributions to this volume (GARCÍA ALONSO 2013) and the outlines of research sketched in the introduction to it.

Needless to mention, that Gaulish data is considered as *comparanda* in modern treatments of word-formation of the Insular Celtic languages, see e.g., DE BERNARDO STEMPEL 1999, WODTKO 1995 and IRSLINGER 2002 for Irish, or ZIMMER 2000 for Welsh. Nevertheless, there has not been a single attempt to offer a comprehensive study of Gaulish morphology on the basis of the toponymic data, and this section is aimed to fill this gap as far as the Eastern and Central European data is concerned. The section will be comparatively short as

³ Maps 1–5 were kindly drawn by Ms Natalia Tighinean, and map 6 is reprinted from VENCLOVÁ *et al.* 2008b with Dr N. Venclová’s generous permission.

morphological criteria remain utterly important for the selection of geographical names of Celtic origin so that issues related to their morphological structure will be discussed throughout this publication.

I. Celtic Geographical Names in Eastern Europe

Difficulties pertaining to the selection of geographical names in Eastern Europe are essentially similar to those emerging in the analysis of the Celtic toponymic data of Western Europe. As in the West, the core problem in dealing with the onomastic landscape of ancient Eastern Europe lies in our extremely poor knowledge of the idioms used in the given areas prior to the arrival of the speakers of Gaulish. Indeed, the languages of the region are mainly fragmentarily attested and belong to the category suitably labeled in the German-language tradition as *Restsprache* and *TrümmerSprache*, for which see UNTERMANN 1989. Some of these idioms are known by name. “Illyrian” in the wider sense of this (para-)linguistic term which comprises nowadays Illyrian, Pannonian, Dalmatian, etc., was spoken in the territories (or parts of territories) of modern Serbia, Croatia, Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Albania and Kosovo. Notwithstanding (and also due to) the considerable amount of onomastic data of these languages, which were usefully surveyed by several scholars in the XX c. and comprehensively discussed in modern times, “Illyrian” still remains the “unknown language”, as the verdict of H. EICHNER (2004) applied to Illyrian in its proper sense may easily be transposed to this data. Indeed even a thorough study of the “Illyrian” language which takes into consideration all available onomastic evidence, cannot by default offer a coherent, systematic and comprehensive description of the idiom, or rather, idioms. Thus, for example, a painstaking analysis of the Pannonian data by P. Anreiter has allowed a selection of a number of distinguishable features of this onomastic language (ANREITER 2001: 10–21). Ironically, the majority of these traits taken separately are also found in Thracian, which is no doubt quite different from “Illyrian” (see FALILEYEV 2002: 123–124); see also valuable remarks on the essence of “Pannonian” in ADAMIK 2003: 263–65. I discuss this range of questions elsewhere, see e.g., FALILEYEV 2013b and FALILEYEV, forthcoming, where further references are provided. Thracian, spoken in modern Bulgaria, parts of Macedonia, Greece and European Turkey is also a fragmentary language, and its relation with the Dacian language used in antiquity of the territory of modern Romania, Republic of Moldova, parts of Hungary and Slovakia is a subject of a lasting discussion. Some scholars nowadays still follow the path of V. Georgiev and I. Duridanov in admitting that Thracian and Daco-Moesian are different languages, while others are of opinion that they are the same idiom. An important linguistic trait which has been used to differentiate between the two languages is the presence of the consonant shift (the so-called

Lautverschiebung) in Thracian, and we are aware of various approaches to this matter in the history of scholarship, see most recently YANAKIEVA 2012. It should be remarked here that as far as personal names are concerned, differentiation between two idioms is detectable, as D. DANA (2006) has shown us; see also DANA 2011 for an extremely useful discussion of the indigenous personal names of the eastern Balkans. However, even taking into account that we have several (historical) grammars of Thracian (Dacian) at our disposal, the very fact that they are based as a rule on the analysis of the onomastic data severely undermines their validity. The Scythian language was spoken in antiquity in certain areas of modern Ukraine, and also Moldova, Romania and Slovakia. The idiom, as modern scholarship has shown, was not homogenous and had a number of dialects. This is also an onomastic language, and although there is a certain amount of data at our disposal, it remains essentially fragmentary, see excellent discussions in TOKHTASEV 2005, IVANTCHIK 2009 and TOKHTASEV 2013 which contain further references. Other idioms spoken in the vast region considered here are even more problematic, as for example much disputed pre-Paleobalkan language(s) (also referred to as “Pre-Hellenic” or “Pelasgian”) used in the eastern Balkans, or even still more enigmatic and really undetectable languages of certain areas of Central Eastern Europe, as for example the Paeonian language, claimed by some scholars to be one of Illyrian idioms and by others a “Hellenic language”, while there is also the opinion that the strongly geographically restricted data of it is nothing but in fact Thracian.

The procedure of segmentation of the Celtic data out of the onomastic landscape of eastern and south-eastern Europe may be briefly illustrated by the following example which iconically shows a number of difficulties pertaining to this process. I have dealt with this particular example in FALILEYEV 2005: 63–4 (cf. also FALILEYEV 2010: 122), and further references to scholarly literature relevant for the analysis may be consulted there. Reflexes of Indo-European **b^hereg^h-* ‘hoch, erhaben’ (IEW: 140–1) are well attested in various languages belonging to this linguistic family (cf. English *barrow* or German *Burg*), and also in onomastics. If we have a closer look at its continuations in Eastern Europe and particularly in the Balkans, we will find a set of etymologically connected place-names in the toponymic landscape in this area. The place-names Πέργαμος (Modern Pärnardag) and Πέργαμον (located on Aegean coast) go back to IE **b^her^g-o-mo-m*, and with the phonetic development **b^h->p-* the toponym cannot be Celtic (or Thracian), and is normally considered as “Pelasgian”. Derived from the same Indo-European stem, *Bergule* (Ptolemy III, 11, 7 Βεργούλη, IA 177, 6

Bergule, now Lüle-Burgas in the European part of Turkey) shows $*b^h-$ > *b* and thus may be Thracian or Celtic, but never “Pelasgian”. At face value, in favour of its linguistic Celticity one may consider here a definitely Celtic place-name Βέργουλα found on the other edge of ancient Europe, in Hispania (e.g., Ptol. II, 6, 60); for *Bergamo*, which also belongs here, see e.g., DE BERNARDO STEMPERL 2000: 92. It is also important that Celtic place-names in *bergu-* find a perfect etymological match in modern Insular Celtic languages, cf. Welsh *bera* ‘pile’. Provided that in Thrace, as it is known, there are toponyms of Celtic origin, should we consider the ancient name of Lüle-Burgas Celtic and not Thracian?

A further argument for this conclusion may be in theory provided by the unexpected realization of PIE $*\hat{g}^h$ – Thracian is a so-called *satəm* language, and we are supposed to see here a historical development into a sibilant. In fact, on these grounds X. DELAMARRE (2012: 76) takes Βέργούλη for Celtic, but several considerations should be drawn into account here. Thus, for example, this unexpected reflex of the PIE palatal guttural in this Thracian word has been traditionally explained by its delapalatization as in Old Church Slavic *brēgъ* ‘bank’, which has been long suggested to belong here as well, cf. DETSCHEW 1976: 52. We are aware, of course, that there is another explanation of the Slavic forms available, as a borrowing from Germanic (see NIL: 32 with further references), and this, *mutatis mutandis* may affect our certainty in the Indo-European etymology of Βέργούλη < $*b^h\text{ere}\hat{g}^h-$. However, traditional methods of etymological research cannot be fully applied to the analysis of data of predominantly onomastic languages where semantic evaluation is normally lacking. Thracian is such a language of course, and this methodological concern has been already addressed, see FALILEYEV 2006: 13–14 and YANAKIEVA 2009: 149–150. Thus, although the future Arcadiopolis may indeed be associated with an elevated space, such semantic motivation may in fact be doubted. It is worth, therefore, to pay attention to the fact that the collection of forms in *berg-* which is normally treated as Thracian (see DETSCHEW 1976: 53–54) contains instances known entirely from Thracian contexts and / or predating “Celtic” penetration of the area, as e.g. the name of the Bisaltian dynast Βέργατιος (400–250 BC). Therefore it is most likely that even if *Bergule* does not go back to PIE $*b^h\text{ere}\hat{g}^h-$, it is really Thracian.

A morphological study of the place-name in question will not add any decisive argument for its linguistic attribution as the suffix (in) *-l-* is found both in Celtic and Thracian. The *-λη* of the place-name, however, does not look Celtic at all but is fairly well attested in Thracian geographical names, e.g., Καβύλη,

for which see FALILEYEV 2006: 100–101. In toponymic studies it should be also allowed that a given geographical name could be sometimes a result of adaptation of a ‘foreign’ name by the speakers of a different language, which makes the toponym semantically meaningful and formally acceptable from the point of view of its configuration. Examples of these adaptations are plentiful, and are found in various epochs and with various languages. In this case, however, such a scenario does not seem feasible: place-names in *berg-* are certainly attested in Thracian and the configuration of the toponym finds identical parallels in the Thracian corpus. Therefore, on balance, Βεργούλη in Thrace is indeed Thracian rather than Celtic.

Generally speaking, the methods of segmentation of the Celtic onomastic data are basically purely etymological. However, it is the problem of semantics which makes toponymic observations difficult and may put conclusions at risk. As was summarised by the patriarch of comparative linguistics A. MEILLET (1967: 57–58),

“the etymologies of proper names are uncertain because of the two pieces of data whose value is established by agreement with the facts of other languages, meaning and phonological form, we can utilize only one: phonological form”.

It is obvious, however, that there are at least some cases where semantic component plays an important role in the analysis. Thus, although P. SIMS-WILLIAMS (2006: 26) aptly admits that “with proper names there is no semantic control”, he pertinently observes the topographic aspect of nomination: thus, for example, Celtic place-names in *cambo-* are normally associated with the river bends (SIMS-WILLIAMS 2006: 14). Indeed, the semantic component may be significant and is also taken into consideration in this study: a settlement, which name is derived from PIE **b^hereg^h*- discussed above could not be, strictly speaking, located in a hollow. One may also observe in this respect that sometimes the meaning of a place-name which is obscure in a given language becomes clear from its variant coined in an *adstratum* idiom. Translations of toponyms do occur in various traditions (cf. CHADWICK 1969: 84 for Greek translation of pre-Greek names), but this offers us a very limited possibility for further discussions and sometimes such an approach may be even misleading. In Eastern Europe this may be illustrated by a definitely Celtic place name *Carrodunum* in modern Western part of the Ukraine. As it is associated with the modern Ukrainian town of

Kam'yanets'-Podils'kyy, and as *Kam'yanets'* is derived from the Slavic word for 'stone', it has been considered in the earlier scholarship (M. Vasmer, elaborated in TRUBACHEV 1991: 42 and see also recently BLAŽEK 2012: 11) that *carro-* in the place-name is related to the Celtic word with the same meaning. This is, however, not necessarily so, and it may be identified with *carro-* 'cart, chariot', therefore 'Fort of Chariots'; cf. FALILEYEV 2006a: 73 and further discussion below.

Another feature which may be useful in this aspect of research stems from the fact that a considerable number of place-names are based on personal names. This, again, is a universal trait and toponyms derived from personal names are found in various traditions. Early Celtic is in no way the exception, see DCC and DELAMARRE 2012, *passim*. Examples of this type of place-name formation are known in Eastern Europe and will be examined in due course below. It must be considered, however, that in certain cases it is still difficult to differentiate whether the place-name conceals a personal name or a common noun, as the same morphological models are used with both types of formation indiscriminantly. This point may be well illustrated by a very well spread model of derivation in *-āko- which is normally used to form place-names from anthroponyms, but is also utilized, e.g., with the tree-names, see further LAMBERT 2008: 133–137. It should be kept in mind, however, that personal names are frequently derived from common nouns, it is sometimes difficult to draw the line between the two models.

The situation is of course more difficult in case of *Trümmersprachen* with the lack of known attempts to translate a given place-name into an idiom understandable to us. This was elegantly illustrated by Yu. V. OTKUPSHIKOV (1988: 79) who noted the following paradox: a comparison of a personal name Μακηδόνιος with a place-name Μακηδονία is commonly accepted while identification of ἀληδόνιος 'of a nightingale' and ἀληδονία 'loss of pleasure' is untenable. It should always be considered that toponyms sometimes exhibit traces of adaptation which is similar to folk etymology, and, in turn, a visible similarity of a given geographical name and a word in a Classical language may trigger considerable consequences in their analysis. For example, the river-name 'Ιεράσος reminds Greek ιερός 'vigorous, mighty', and indeed some scholars did admit such a connection between the Greek appellative and the hydronym located in Moesia Inferior by Ptolemy, see FALILEYEV 2006: 41–43. Another example of the same general difficulty may be provided by a Thracian place-name Μεσημβρία, which has been sometimes analysed in conjunction with Greek μεσημβρία 'south' (SIMS-WILLIAMS 2011: 279–280, for various explanations of the place-name see FALILEYEV 2006: 48–50). This is of course

a universal problem which is not restricted to the Continental Celtic evidence. As was noted by J. CHADWICK (1969: 83) more than forty years ago in respect of the geographical names of ancient Greece, “even names with evident Greek meanings cannot be unquestioningly accepted as Greek”, and popular etymology can certainly be detected in various cases. The renowned scholar adds, that “others such as ‘Ρόδος (cf. ρόδον ‘rose’), Σπάρτη (cf. σπαρτός ‘sown’), Ναύπλιον (cf. ναῦς ‘ship’ and πλέω ‘sail’) excite suspicion, even if we cannot immediately disprove a Greek origin” (CHADWICK 1969: 83–84). Similar problems are faced in the treatment of the allegedly Continental Celtic geographical names.

This observation also raises the question of geographical names which may be assigned to various languages spoken in the area. This is a problem well-known in the Celtic West, where the dilemma “Celtic or Latin” is frequently debated, in most cases without a universally accepted conclusion, see, e.g., discussion of *A(qua)bona* (possibly Barreiro in modern Portugal) or *Aracaeli* (Huarte-Araquil in Spain) in DCC: 50 and 52. The situation is much the same in the East, and disputes whether the place-name is, say, Celtic or Latin, or Celtic or Thracian are frequent. This occurs particularly when we deal with a toponym which is attested only in early medieval sources, such as Procopius, and which shows traces of distortions. Indeed, the problem of “the long arm of coincidence”, to use P. Sims-Williams’s coinage, affects all levels of analysis, including morphology. It should again be reminded here that the place-names to be analysed in this study are recorded in Greek and Latin sources in the onomastic landscape presented by various *Restsprachen* and *Trümmersprachen*, and in this respect the following observation by Yu. V. OTKUPSHIKOV (1988: 95) is illuminating. A collection of five geographical names in the Russian spelling and script, namely *Дубл-ин*, *Пек-ин*, *Салам-ин*, *Пушкин* and *Берл-ин* at first glance points to a possibility to consider here the suffix [in], but these examples belong to different languages and it is obvious in this case that the selection of the suffix is wrong. To develop Otkupschokov’s colourful illustration of the problem, one may re-write the same collection following their representation on an English-language map, and thus get *Dublin*, *Beijing*, *Salamis*, *Pushkin* and *Berlin*, with now only three place-names containing the sequence [in] extracted in the former procedure. If we re-write it once again but this time in the original spelling of the languages these geographical names were originally coined (transliterations in case of Standard Mandarin and Russian), we come to *Dubhlinn* or *Duibhlinn*, *Bēi Jīng*, *Σαλαμίνα*, *Puškin* and *Berlin*, with only the two latter containing the sequence [in]. These are in fact historically heterogeneous and only in case of Berlin the [in] may be

an actual toponymic formant: the Russian place-name *Pushkin* is named after the poet Alexander Pushkin, while German *Berlin*, most probably, goes back to Old Polabian (Western Slavic) *berl-/birl-* ‘swamp’. Needless to add that the many languages which contributed to the foundation of the early toponymic landscape of Eastern Europe in antiquity and recorded in Greek and Latin sources are sharing this difficulty in their analysis.

To overcome this problem, Yu. V. OTKUPSHIKOV (1988: 95–100) points out to the necessity of a systematic analysis of the potentials of word-formation. Thus, for example, the sequence [da] is attested not only in Καρύανδα and Λάρανδα, but also in *Luanda* and *Uganda*. However, the two former examples point to paradigmatic Καρύανδα / Καρύασσος and Λάρανδα / Λάρυμνα, while, say, *Luanda* / **Luassos*, or *Uganda* / **Ugumna vel sim.* are not known. Otkupschikov draws attention to the complexes of suffixal derivation, illustrating this by the following set: Ἰμβρος (name of the island), Ἰμβρεύς (theonym), Ιμβραλος (Lykian personal name), Ἰμβραμος (Carian theonym), Ιμβρανος (Lykian personal name), Ιμβρασσις (Carian personal name). He claims that the onomastic data of other areas does not offer such a paradigmatic collection (-ος, -εύς, -λος, -μος, -νος, -σσις) and compares this collection with sets of morphological derivations in the given non-onomastic languages. The possible original linguistic heterogeneity of the examples is not important for this renowned scholar in this respect, as the set of suffixes is really regionally limited, although the homophonous formation should be taken into consideration. This peculiarity has been observed for a long time, cf. the examples of Κορησσός and Κόρινθος discussed in CHADWICK 1969: 85.

The attention paid by many scholars and particularly by I. Duridanov and Yu. V. Otkupshikov to various distributions of models of suffixation and recognizable clusters of suffixes in the onomastic landscape of parts of (South-)Eastern Europe is of course remarkable and indeed is very helpful for the present research. However, it should be borne in mind that the similarity of these patterns sometimes comprises historically related but nevertheless distinct languages. Thus, for example, the claim for the close relationship between Thracian and the Baltic languages is based *inter alia* on the integral identities of entire forms, which comprises stems and suffixation models. A most famous example, which is accepted by the vast majority of academics (see FALILEYEV 2006: 106 with references), is the ancient name of Ipsala in European Turkey, Κύψελα (Ptol. III, 11, 7). As suggested by I. DURIDANOV (1969: 43–44), it finds an exact match in Lithuanian *Kupš-ėl-iai*, cf. Lithuanian *kupsėlis* ‘small heap, lump’, and the

all-inclusive parallelism is traced on all the levels of analysis. It is self-evident, though, that this analysis of Κύψελα does not make the toponym from modern Turkey Baltic in origin. The treatment of some of the presumably Celtic or certainly Celtic place-names below which exhibit similarities with analogous toponymic coinages in other languages should always take into the account this methodological point.

To summarize, the analysis of the data to be discussed in this work may cause various linguistic difficulties. However, it is in effect virtually possible to select from this difficult and thorny onomastic landscape those geographical names which may be safely treated as Celtic, and those, which at least allow a Celtic interpretation and are at least potentially Celtic. Still, in many cases, particularly when linguistically uncompounded geographical names are concerned, there cannot be any certainty that the given toponym should not be assigned to a different idiom, and therefore the data should be treated with extreme caution.

The Sources

It goes without saying that the data which is analysed in a toponymic research must be considered first philologically, otherwise we identify place-names as Celtic which are most definitely not. Thus, for example, a Celtic treatment of "Οκταβον (Višnjica near Belgrade), which is acceptable at face value (most recently: BLAŽEK – ŠEFČÍK 2011: 242), is untenable as the place-name is in fact most probably Latin, *Ad Octavum* (see FALILEYEV 2013: 105). Generally, variations in spelling of the geographical names in ancient and early medieval sources should be checked constantly. Unfortunately, this set of sources which provides us with data on the Celtic place-names in the eastern part of Europe is rather scarce when compared to the western part of the continent; the number of authors mentioning the data to be discussed below is limited and exceptionally restricted. The majority of the Celtic-place names in (South-)Eastern Europe, mostly within the changing borders of the Roman Empire but also in the adjacent territories are known from the II century AD "Geography" by Ptolemy (for this most important text see now BURRI 2013) and it is only occasionally that they are mentioned by Strabo, Pliny, Plutarch and some other authors of antiquity. It is quite frequent that a given toponym is mentioned only in Ptolemy, and sometimes its localization is disputable, particularly for those beyond the borders of the Roman Empire. Indeed, various scholars have offered their interpretations of Ptolomaic maps (for the XXI century see e.g., BERTHEAU 2002, ŘEHÁK –

KVĚT 2002, ZUBAREV 2005, ZAWADZKI 2009: 137–144, KOLENDU 2009–2010, KLEINEBERG *et al.* 2010, BRYCHTOVÁ – TSORLINI 2011), and no consensus has been reached on location of many toponyms discussed below. Therefore, unless I have a certain personal opinion on their probable localization (cf. e.g., FALILEYEV 2010), the suggested variants of them will be listed below indiscriminately. It is clear, that this lack of consensus as far as the localization of a number of place-names is concerned considerably jeopardizes the selection of “Celtic” enclaves in Eastern and Central Europe; however, a linguist cannot take any responsibility for the methodology and discrepancies of the current paleogeographic research.

We also find place-names to be discussed in this publication, although sporadically, in the later texts, such as the *Antonine Itinerary* or *Notitia Dignitatum*. For the Balkan area early Byzantine sources, such as *De aedificiis* by Procopius are of paramount importance. Going further north and east the number of ancient and early medieval sources which provide data become more and more restricted, every single piece of evidence therefore becoming essential and precious. Thus, for parts of north-eastern Europe “Germania” by Tacitus is indispensable, although the data it provides is unfortunately extremely limited. The early medieval sources are truly silent and utterly uninformative already for these areas, to say nothing of the regions further east. The obvious problem related to this type of sources is a factor of chronology, or, as D. PARSONS (2010: 170) formulates, “a lack of chronological precision”: place-names “tend to resist enquiry into the ultimate date of their coinage”. The same is also true in respect of the other sources to be used here, viz. epigraphic records (both Latin and Greek) which sometimes contain unique attestations of linguistically Celtic place-names. It may be admitted, however, that as we deal here with a definitely secondary colonization of the areas, the chronological precision becomes slightly more accurate.

A noteworthy trait of the Celtic toponymy of Eastern Europe is that it is essentially no longer reflected in the modern onomastic landscape. Certainly, if the “Celtic West” provides us with a multitude of examples when a given linguistically Celtic geographical name survives – normally in an adapted form – into modern times, it is not surely the case in the East. Indeed, there are no examples of continuity in the onomastic landscape in Eastern Europe, with a Celtic name adopted by the (various waves) of newcomers as we see in Western Europe, which provides us with many examples of such adaptation such as Milano in Italy (*Mediolanum*) or Mainz (*Mogontiacum*) in Germany, cf. an impressive list in DELAMARRE 2012: 317–380. It should be admitted that there have been several

attempts in the past to claim that even in Eastern Europe we find such adaptations, but the arguments presented are unconvincing and it is overall unlikely that in this part of the *oikumene* we find any examples. Thus, it was suggested (TRUBACHOV 1966: 105) that Szeged in modern Hungary reflects the earlier *Singidunum*, a hybrid formation with the Celtic second component known also as the ancient name of modern Belgrade in Serbia. This suggestion, which *inter alia* was offered by N. Gostar even earlier, is mostly unlikely, and the modern toponym is most probably of Hungarian origin, see BENKÖ 1992–1997: 1430–1 and cf. FALILEYEV 2013: 124. The oronym *Pieniny* in modern Poland has been viewed by several scholars as Celtic, to **pennos* ‘head’, and is still occasionally compared with the Pennine mountains in England, thus TRUBACHOV 1991: 42 and 229, where J. Udolph’s objections are criticised. This suggestion was found attractive by V. KALYGIN (2006: 69); but this comparison is in fact most unlikely. One may note in this respect “that the name of the mountain range *The Pennines* is an eighteenth-century invention” (CVEP: 343), and although Gaulish **pennos* is indeed attested in place name formation (cf. DCC: 28 or DELAMARRE 2012: 214), the oronym *Pieniny* is in fact Slavic, see LUTTERER *et al.* 1982: 234 and BABIK 2001: 503–503. *Eborodunum*, the ancient name of the Moravian capital in the Czech Republic, is still sometimes treated as a source for its modern name, Brno, cf. e.g., TRUBACHOV 1966: 104–105, ISAAC 2004, commentary ad loc. (“*Brno* < *{(E)bru!du!no-}”) and DELAMARRE 2012: 148 and 380. This is also improbable as we should in this case admit a number of unmotivated phonetic changes in an unknown linguistic environment (which is a problem in its own right), and, what is even more important, *Brno* has a perfect Slavic etymology. On this see SCHWARZ 1961: 40 and for the Slavic etymology of Brno see LUTTERER *et al.* 1982: 62–63, where it is noted that a Celtic approach to the treatment of the place-name is still found in various tourist guides. As we have seen, we find this treatment occasionally in the academic literature as well.

As we are aware, the Western European onomastic landscape in antiquity has preserved quite a few geographical names based on *galli-*. The Latin descriptive terms based on the umbrella name include *Ager Gallicus*, *Forum Gallorum*, *Gallicum Fretum* in modern Italy, *Forum Gallorum*, *Gallicum Mare*, *Gallika Phlaouia* and *Pagus Gallorum et Segardinensium* in Spain; for their localizations and attestations see DCC, s. vv. It is also possible that the same nomination lies behind a place-name attested in South-Eastern Europe, cf. the discussion of *Gallicum* (possibly *Philadelphia* in Greece) in FALILEYEV 2013: 70, cf. also the identical *Gallicum* (possibly *San Mateo de Gállego*) in Spain, DCC: 126. This

observation begs a question whether the geographical names of Eastern Europe containing *gal-* which are first attested in medieval and even early modern period of history should be analysed along the same lines.

It goes without saying that ethnic names, directly or otherwise, are well represented in the modern toponymic landscape of the area. To illustrate this point one may consider, for example, *Tatarskij kut*, *Tatarske Boloto* (based on the ethnic name *Tartars*), *Franysuzova kirnitsa* (the French), *Tsiganka* (the Gipsy) in Western Ukraine (Bukovina, see KARPENKO 1973: 37–41), *Bulgari* (the Bulgarians) and a number of toponyms based on *Greaca* (the Greeks) in modern Romania (IORDAN 1963: 268–269 and 273–274). *Sarbski Samokov* or *Sarbinovo* in South-Western Bulgaria contains the ethnic name Serbs (CHOLEVA-DIMITROVA 2002: 89), while *Rusovce* on the shores of the Danube in Slovakia, where the ancient Gerulata is located, which is known in Hungarian as *Oroszvár* ‘Russian town’, is named so after the Croatian settlement of the XVI c. (LUTTERER *et al.* 1982: 263). Some of these geographical names refer to the corresponding ethnic names in a rather indirect way. For example, in Bukovina (western Ukraine) the hydronym *Talyans'ka* (Талъянська), literary “The Italian (river)” received this name because prisoners from Italy were brought into this area in the Austro-Hungarian times, while *Italijskij kut* (Италійський кут) was named so because an Italian military detachment stayed at this place (KARPENKO 1973: 40 and 193). In any case, however, these coinages are late and really refer, this way or the other, to the French, Gypsies, etc., who were around in the designated areas in relatively recent times.

This observation poses a question on a possibility of preserving in the modern onomastic landscape of eastern Europe of Celtic ethnic names which were in use here at least twenty century before. This indeed happens occasionally in Western (cf. the tribal name *Parisii* which is preserved in the name of the capital of France) and even Central Europe. The best illustration for that may be offered by the name of Bohemia, recorded first by Strabo (VII, 1, 3 Βούισιμον), known in antiquity and Middle Ages (cf. Middle High German *Bēheim*) and surviving into our times. The name is traditionally seen as a Celto-Germanic hybrid, ‘the home of the *Boii*’, and reflects the historical presence of the Celtic *Boii* in the area, DCC: 77; for detailed treatment of the form see SCHUMACHER 2007: 185. A different analysis of it has been recently suggested by V. BLAŽEK (2010: 22–24) and deserves a brief comment. The Czech scholar thinks that the name is entirely Celtic and offers an indigenous interpretation of its second part. According to Blažek, it can be identified “with a hypothetical Celtic **saimon*

‘mountain ridge’ <**sH₂ei-mon*”, cognate with Irish *sim* ‘chain’ and Old Indic *sīmān-* ‘rope, border, crown, top’. The scholar is of opinion that this Celtic word is reflected in Σημανοῦς “Υλη (Ptolemy II, 11, 5, *Semānus silva* of the Latin writers) which is identified with Thüringer Wald or Krušné hory. One may indeed probably agree with a possibility that Σημανοῦς “Υλη may belong here (note, however, G. R. ISAAC’s (2004, *ad loc.*) comment, “the linguistic affiliation of the name is not clear to me”), but it is difficult to accept the suggested presence of it as a second part of the future oikonym *Bohemia*. The basic objection is the change of **s* to *h* in this form which is advocated by Blažek. The examples he quotes to support his claim are totally irrelevant: *Hallstatt*, as D. STIFTER (2005) has demonstrated, has nothing to do with the Celtic word for ‘salt’ <**sal-*. Gaulish *suiorebe* (<**suesorebi*) does of course show the loss of -*s*- internally, but alongside several other Gaulish examples has been successfully explained by D. STIFTER (2012: 536–539) by the rule which is based on its phonetic environment and therefore cannot be applied to the example discussed by Blažek; generally on this set of problems related to the fate of IE **s* on Gaulish see STIFTER 2012. It should also be noted in this respect that the important aspect of the preservation of the name lies in an interrupted and fairly documented tradition, for which cf. already Tacitus (*Germania*, 28)⁴:

“This land is still called Bohemia (*Bohaemi nomen*), which attests the ancient tradition concerning it, although the inhabitants have since changed”.

As far as I am aware, at least some scholars allow for a possibility that in Eastern Europe there are several examples of the ethnic names belonging to antiquity which survived into the modern onomastic landscape. Thus, for example, I. IORDAN (1963: 271–3) discussed Romanian *Gepizi* and *Gotul* (in the geographic names *Muntele Gotul*, *Gotescu*, etc.) in conjunction with the corresponding ethnic names, the Gepids and the Goths, although they may be treated differently. Similarly, at some point the name of modern Gdansk (Polish

⁴ The edition P. Cornelius Tacitus, Tom II. Fasc. 2. *Germania*. Edidit Alf Önnerfors (Stuttgart, 1983) is used throughout this publication. The English translation is quoted from Tacitus, *The Agricola and the Germania*. Translated with an introduction by H. Mattingly. Translation revised by S. A. Handford (Harmondsworth 1970). For the history of perception of the *Boii*-ness of Bohemia see an elegant essay by J. KYSELA (2010).

Gdańsk) in Poland has been connected with the Goths, but this is not correct, see BABIK 2001: 381–2. In the light of this observation one may pay attention to the East European place-names in *gal-* *vel sim.* which are first attested in medieval and early modern sources. Although some of them are attested in areas which are known for Celtic presence from linguistic or archaeological data, and notwithstanding the fact that they indeed remind us of the ethnic name *Galli*, *Galatae*, etc., there is no need at all to trace them to the ethnicon, also taking into consideration that they have decent etymologies. For example, in North-Western Bulgaria, which indeed is known for its linguistically Celtic names, we find a town *Galatin* (located to the north of Vratsa), and in the vicinity of Oryahovo there are *Galiche* and *Galovo*. These are not traced to the Celtic ethnic name, but are traditionally considered Bulgarian formations and are derived from Bulg. *gal* ‘black’ (or from the personal name *Galo*). It is important that the derivational models are well attested in Bulgarian toponymy (cf. *Milotin*, *Dragostin* or *Leliche*, *Seniche*), and therefore it is quite safe to reject their Celtic etymology and consider them Slavic and straightforwardly Bulgarian, see NIKOLOV 1996: 69–77 and cf. FALILEYEV 2013: 70. A different, but also Slavic etymology has the place-name *Galanta* in Slovakia, LUTTERER *et al.* 1982: 97.

Other example to illustrate this point comes from a different linguistic environment. The modern place-name *Galați* in the Danube delta (Romania) is still occasionally associated with the Celtic linguistic remnants of the area, see BILEȚCHI-ALBESCU 1928: 277–278 and cf. IORDAN 1963: 271. Strictly speaking, there are certain extra-linguistic grounds for such conclusions: the area was indeed settled by the Celtic speaking *Britolagi* in antiquity (FALILEYEV 2007: 4–14), so another Celtic name in the area, where we find *Noviodunum* and *Aliobrix*, is not totally unexpected. However, this late-attested toponym (first references in 1551) has most probably no connection with the Celtic presence in the area and is nowadays analysed as indigenous, see IORDAN 1963: 271 and particularly SUKHACHEV *et al.* 2012: 93–94, where the etymologies of the toponym are surveyed and a new treatment is offered. Note also that identical names are found in Muntenia and similar names (e.g., *Galateni*) elsewhere in modern Romania. In a similar mode, modern and medieval geographical names in *gal-* from the territories where Baltic languages are or were spoken are considered indigenous, too. They are most probably of various origins, see e.g., TOPOROV 1979: 134, but what is fairly clear, is that they have nothing to do with the *Galli* / *Gallatae*. Similarly, Ptolomaic *Galindae*, *Galindite* in the medieval Latin sources and

Golyadь of Russian chronicles have nothing to do with the *Galloi* (unless they are etymologically related), see further DINI 2002: 55 and 241–244.

It is interesting to note that this association of the medieval and modern geographical names in Eastern Europe with the Celts of antiquity is not a recent invention. In this respect one may note the following passage from the XIII c. “De proprietatibus rerum” (XV) by Bartholomaeus Anglicus relating about “Ruthia, sive Ruthena” (De Ruthia)⁵:

Terra quidem est maxima concordans cum Bohemis et Sclavis in ideomate et lingua. Haec autem quadam parte sui Galacia est vocata et eius incolae quandam Galathae (var. Galatae) vocabantur, quibus dicitur Paulus Aposolus direxisse epistolam. Quaere supra de Galacia.

Its land is great, and the language is that of the Bohemians and Slavs. And some part of it is called Galacia, and its people were called Galathae (Galate). It is said that Apostle Paul sent to them an epistle. See above on Galacia.

In his chapter “De Gallacia”, which is primarily dedicated to Galatia in Asia Minor, Bartholomaeus Anglicus indeed mentions Ruthenia in the following context:

Nunc autem ex antiquo Gallorum nomine Galli dicuntur et eorum regio Gallacia nuncupatur. Est autem region latissima et fertilissima Europae continens magnam partem quae nunc Rutenea a pluribus nominatur.

Nowadays from the ancient name of the Gauls they are called Gauls, and their territory is called Gallacia. This region is the widest and most fertile, and embraces large part of Europe which is now called by many Rutenea.

In view of the extremely important archaeological finds associated with Celts around the town Galich in western Ukraine (medieval Galitskaya Rus’), cf. recently KAZAKEVICH 2012: 170–173 and 183–186, the name itself is not infrequently treated as Celtic, cf. STRIŽAK 1988: 76–80 or TRUBACHOV 1991: 42 and 229 where the oikonym *Galitsia* is also treated as ultimately Gaulish.

⁵ Modern complete edition of this medieval encyclopaedia is regrettably still lacking; the text is quoted from its 1462 edition, the translation is mine. For medieval English translations of the passages see *On the Proprietis of Things. John Trevisa’s translation of Bartholomaeus Anglicus De proprietatibus rerum* (vol. 2, Oxford 1975), p. 763 and 803.

The town is located on the Dniester, where Ptolemy places several settlements with Celtic names, the closest being *Carrodotum* (for these see below), which *a priori* gives an opportunity to consider Galich along the same lines. However, this is not necessary at all. The name, which is first attested in 1140 (and in 1138 its inhabitants are first recorded), is unproblematically explained as (Eastern) Slavic, a continuation of Common Slavonic *gal'b ‘naked, not covered by trees’. Such nominations are frequent in various traditions, cf. here for example Welsh *llannerch* ‘glade, clearing’, see examples in CHARLES 1992: 792. It is very important that the toponym is not isolated in eastern Slavic: another *Galich*, first recorded by a Russian Chronicle in 1237 is located in the north-west, in the present Kostroma region of the Russian Federation, where any “Celtic” presence in antiquity is completely out of question. See NEROZNAK 1983: 56–7 with further references for the discussion of these two Old Russian toponyms, which may be etymologically unrelated, with similar-looking river-names also found in the Western part of Ukraine, for which see e. g., PETROV 1966; for the Germanic associations of *Galitsia* cf. also references in TOPOROV 1983: 244. In any event there is of course no necessity to view it in conjunction with the Western European Celtic linguistic evidence, and this point of view is shared by a few historians and linguists alike, cf. e.g., SIMS-WILLIAMS 2006: 195 or BOCHNAK 2007: 25 fn. 3.

It is worth noting in this respect that the historical-ethnographic area *Boikivshchina* (Polish *Bojkowszczyzna*) which is located in the same region, inhabited by the *Boikos* and mentioned in the X c. “De Administrando Imperio” by Constantine VII (chapter XXXII) has been occasionally analysed as Celtic due to its similarity with the ethnic name *Boii*, see STRIŽAK 1988: 73–76 and contrast KHUDASH 1978 for a perfect Slavic discussion. In a similar mode and quite aptly the hydronyms *Boikine*, *Boikova* and *Boikove* in the Lower Dniester area are treated as Slavic in origin, see Karpenko 1981: 12. Comparable geographical names in modern Romania once considered to belong here as well (cf. BILEȚCHI-ALBESCU 1928: 153–4) are also in fact unrelated, and the Czech toponym *Bojkovice* is aptly treated as Slavic, LUTTERER *et al.* 1982: 57.

Some scholars (e.g., TRUBACHEV 1991: 41–2 with further bibliography) have argued that *Vol(o)chi* of the Russian chronicles should be identified with the Celtic *Volcae* (for which see e.g., RÜBEKEIL 2002: 92–108) but this identification is rightly not accepted in modern scholarship. The problem of the *Vol(o)chi* was comprehensively discussed from different standpoints (and also in etymological and toponymic studies, for this aspect see also GIRANOVA – SUKHACHEV 1997) in various contributions to IVANOV *et al.* 1979. For Germanic **walhōz* and a

wide range of peoples which its continuations in various languages denote, see a useful survey in KUZMENKO 2011: 164–165, and for the dispute concerning the etymology of Celtic **uolkās* see SCHUMACHER 2007: 179–180 and cf. DE BERNARDO STEMPPEL 2008: 103. It is interesting to note that in the XIX century some scholars considered this etymon to lie behind the territory name Volyn', cf. TOPOROV 1983: 244; for a survey of previous scholarship and the most recent Slavic etymology of it see VASILYEV 2012. In a similar mode, a number of local names in (or concealing) **britt-* have for obvious grounds been considered Celtic. They indeed are found in the areas where there is archaeological evidence for the Celtic historical presence, particularly a late attested village name in the western part of the Ukraine, but there seems to be no doubt that their Celtic linguistic attribution is erroneous; see FALILEYEV 2006: 29–30 with further references. Along similar lines, the toponym *Belz* (Былзъ) also in the Ukraine has been explained in conjunction with the Celtic ethnic name Belgae, see Strižak 1988: 73. The place-name, however, has a perfect Slavic etymology (NEROZNAK 1983: 35–36), and there is no necessity at all to trace it to the name of the tribe which has never been attested in this part of Europe, cf. FALILEYEV 2006a: 71.

It is evident, therefore, that the geographical names in Eastern Europe which are attested for the first time in late medieval and early modern sources and which remind us at first glance of the known and respectable Gaulish ethnic names, are in fact later indigenous local coinages and have nothing to do with the Celtic linguistics remains of the area. It is also remarkable that the eastern area to be discussed here has not preserved a single example of a linguistically Gaulish geographical name in the modern onomastic landscape, which makes it very different from the Western and Central Europe, including the Western Balkans and Eastern Adriatics.

“The long arm of coincidence”: a Case for Eastern Europe

Even if we consider only geographical names recorded in antiquity, this discussion cannot but reopen the problem which was appropriately labeled “The long arm of coincidence” by P. SIMS-WILLIAMS (2006: 26). Indeed, similar looking or identical geographical names occur all over Eurasia, and it is obvious that the search for linguistic Celticity of toponyms should take into attention a certain amount of extra-linguistic considerations. It may be recalled that dealing with the ancient toponymy, we are mostly in the domain of Indo-European languages, and although these may use different strategies for naming various geographical

objects, the genetic similarity of the original linguistic stock they used brought into being similar-looking geographical names. At the same time, this long arm of coincidence brings sometimes together historically unrelated forms; see further SIMS-WILLIAMS 2006: 26–37, SIMS-WILLIAMS 2009: 463–65 and cf. my discussion of the toponyms in *mal-* in various parts of Europe in FALILEYEV 2012: 82–90.

In this discussion which is aimed at finding the most eastern linguistic traces of the Celts one should pay, for example, some attention to the dispute over the tribal name *Tektosages* which Ptolemy records in the Central Asia (Τεκτοσάκες var. Τεκτοχισάκες, see STÜCKELBERGER – GRASSHOFF 2006a: 660). Notwithstanding their unexpected, to put it mildly, geographical position, it has been long (COUSIN 1906: 476) compared with Celtic *Tectosagi* of Asia Minor. The linguistic Celticity of the latter is undisputable (see DCC: 215, cf. Old Irish *techtaigidir* ‘seeks to (re)establish a land claim’ < **tekto-sag-*>), and its appearance on the Ptolomaic map of Central Asia was discussed by P. SIMS-WILLIAMS (2006: 298–9 and 2009: 464). To quote P. SIMS-WILLIAMS (2009: 464),

“Celtic migrants of this name are found in Bohemia / Moravia, in southern Gaul around Toulouse, and in Galatia around Ancyra, the last group having moved there after the sack of Delphi in 279 BC. It is not beyond the bounds of possibility that another group followed the Silk Road further east”.

The suggested scenario is of course not entirely impossible, as generally our historical sources on “Celtic movements” in antiquity in the east are scarce and utterly uninformative. At the same time such a conclusion cannot but remind us about the discussion of the Gothic presence in ancient India which was triggered by the interpretation of the onomastics in the epigraphical records of Poona near Bombay (see R. Schmitt in *RGA* 12 (1998), 406–407). It should be constantly kept in mind, however, that Ptolemy’s depiction of Central Asia in certain cases remains enigmatic and unreservedly incomprehensible (see e.g., RAPIN 2001), and therefore on balance it is difficult not to agree with P. Sims-Williams (*loc. cit.*) that “*Tektosakes* could always represent some non-Celtic names, perhaps connected with the Iranian *Sakas*”, cf. similar conclusions offered in KOCH *et al.* 2007: 27, but note that N. MANASSEO (2013: 77) is ready to accept the Celticity of the tribe.

Eastern Europe is not an exception in this respect even if we only take into consideration the geographical names recorded in antiquity. Thus, for example, the ethnic name Νεύποι and the corresponding people have been considered as Celtic in the history of scholarship. To prove this point in a most recent attempt O. TRUBACHOV (1991: 43–45) makes use of the linguistic arguments and the data of extra-linguistic nature. On the linguistic side the ethnic name is compared with that of the Nervii in the “Celtic West”, and the differences between these two ethnic names are claimed to be of diachronic and dialect nature. Indeed, the tribal name *Nervii* is most probably linguistically Celtic. Although both Tacitus and Strabo are of opinion that the tribe is Germanic or at least related to *Germania* (cf. Tacitus, *Germ.*, 28 Treveri et Nervii circa affectationem Germanicae originis ultiro ambitiosi sunt ‘the Treveri and Nervii even rake pride in the German descent to which they lay claims’), there is no doubt that the ethnic name goes back to the same **ner-* as attested in *Nerii*, etc., enlarged with suffix *-uo-; see DCC: 169 and cf. KALYGIN 2003: 227–29. However, the metathesis *neru-* > ***neur-* is not expected and does not look motivated; for **tauro-* > **tarwo-* cf. ISAAC 2007: 65 and see also DE BERNARDO STEMPPEL 2000: 90.

Therefore, there are no, strictly speaking, purely linguistic grounds to consider the ethnic name Νεύποι Celtic unless a certain amount of manipulation is involved with a convenient but most probably irrelevant reference to a dialect nature of the form. However, O. TRUBACHOV (1991: 44) considers in his discussion two more pieces of evidence which from his standpoint may be used in favour of the (ethnic) Celticity of the corresponding people. The first comes from Sex. Propertii Elegiarum IV 3, 7–8⁶:

Te modo uiderunt iteratos Bactra per ortus, te modo munito Neuricus hostis equo	Now you were seen by the Bactra through the much traversed East, now by the Neurian foe mounted on his mailed charger
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According to Trubachev, who does not want to see the (proto-)Slavs in the tribe, the *munitus equus* of the Neurians is something unexpected unless the latter are the “Celts” known for their metallurgy producing fine armour. This argument, however, cannot be taken as decisive. First, it should be mentioned that *Neuricus* of the text has been a subject of emendations for a considerable time: scholars

⁶ The fragment and its translation are quoted from MYERS 2008: 57.

saw in it *Persicus* and *Sericus* among others, see MYERS 2008: 57–58. Secondly, it is not at all necessary to refer to the tribe mentioned in this passage as Slavs, cf. their Scythian or Sarmatian attribution in MYERS 2008: 57.

The second argument for the Celtness of the Neupoí, according to Trubachev, is offered by Herodotus (IV, 105)⁷:

“for the Scythians, and the Greeks settled in Scythia, say that once a year every one of the Neuri is turned into a wolf, and after remaining so for a few days returns again to his former shape”.

This “lycanthropic” passage, as Trubachev admits, may reflect a genetic connection of the Neuri with the tribe *Volcae*, which he takes to denote ‘wolves’, and this approach is occasionally found in the works of historians, cf. e.g., STRIŽAK 1988: 72. However, this association is not at all straightforward and this line of the argument should also be disregarded, for this see major methodological issues raised in SIMS-WILLIAMS 2012a, cf. also MCCONE 2008: 47–48. It should be remembered that the Neuri are mentioned six times in book IV of Herodotus, which is the earliest attestation of the tribe, are roughly located in the northern basin of the Dnieper; see a comprehensive discussion in TOPOROV 2006. The general outline of our present-day knowledge of the historical movements of the Celtic-speaking groups makes their presence in the areas indicated and at the time of Herodotus (and earlier) extremely unlikely. Therefore, from the point of common sense the ethnic name should be excluded from the discussion of the linguistic Celtness of Eastern Europe. It may be added in parenthesis that it has been viewed as Slavic, Baltic and even Common Balto-Slavic, see a useful survey in DINI 2002: 51–54 and recent arguments by Yu. V. OTKUPSHIKOV (2004) and V. N. TOPOROV (2006: 20–30). Needless to add, these discussions quite naturally avoid mentioning the possibility of a Celtic attribution of the name.

Since there is a plethora of Celtic geographical names containing Gaulish *boud-* ‘victory’ (MATASOVIĆ 2009: 72, SIMS-WILLIAMS 2006: 47–48), it is worth paying some attention to another tribe mentioned in the same area by Herodotus, the *Budini*. The Father of History offers the following description of this tribe in his History (IV, 108–109) which is worth quoting in full:

⁷ The translation of A. D. Godley (*Herodotus*, Volume 2, Loeb Classical Library) is used here and below.

108. The Budini (*Bouδίνοι*) are a great and numerous nation; the eyes of all of them are very bright, and they are ruddy. They have a city built of wood, called Gelonus. The wall of it is thirty furlongs in length on each side of the city; this wall is high and all of wood; and their houses are wooden, and their temples; for there are among them temples of Greek gods, furnished in Greek fashion with images and altars and shrines; and they honour Dionysus every three years with festivals and revels. For the Geloni are by their origin Greeks, who left their trading ports to settle among the Budini; and they speak a language half Greek and half Scythian. But the Budini speak not the same language as the Geloni, nor is their manner of life the same.

109. The Budini are native to the soil; they are nomads, and the only people in these parts that eat fir-cones; the Geloni are tillers of the soil, eating grain and possessing gardens; they are wholly unlike the Budini in form and in complexion. Yet the Greeks call the Budini too Geloni; but this is wrong. All their country is thickly wooded with every kind of tree; in the depth of the forests there is a great and wide lake and marsh surrounded by reeds; otters are caught in it, and beavers, besides certain square-faced creatures whose skins serve for the trimming of mantles, and their testicles are used by the people to heal hysterical sicknesses.

Notwithstanding the superficial possibility to consider the ethnic name Celtic, as it was done by some historians (STRIŽAK 1988: 62), on pure linguistic level this is impossible, cf. SIMS-WILLIAMS 2006: 195 and see further DINI 2002: 54 for its Baltic etymology. It is noteworthy, again, that the description of the tribe offered by Herodotus may find certain matches and associations with the portrayals of the Gauls that we find in other works of Greek and Roman authors. However, this “anthropological” or “cultural” similarity obviously has no consequence for the “ethnic” attribution of this tribe (*viz.* the linguistic attribution of the ethnonym), cf. also SIMS-WILLIAMS 2012a for this set of questions. Therefore, consequently, it is pointless to look at the Βώδινον ὄρος (Ptol. III, 8, 5) as Gaulish ‘victorious mountains’ – the oronym is most probably connected with the non-Celtic tribal name, cf. SIMS-WILLIAMS 2006: 195. It may be mentioned in parenthesis that a similar-looking hydronym *Budina* in Bukovina, the Ukraine, has been long and aptly considered Slavic (KARPENKO 1973: 103), and of course its interpretation

as Celtic, ‘Victorious (river)’, is out of question. Similarly, the Ἀλαυνὸν ὄρος in Sarmatia (Ptol. III, 8, 5, the head form is given no doubt correctly as Ἀλαυὸν) although recalling the difficult G. *alauna-, for which see DCC: 6, is not Celtic at all, SIMS-WILLIAMS 2006: 195.

This list which illustrates the long arm of coincidence in action is incredibly long, and therefore one more example will probably suffice. The tribe Veneti (Venedi, Venethae, Venethi, Οὐενέδοι) well recorded in ancient sources dwelt on the shores of the Baltic sea (which Ptolemy even calls “Venetic Bay”) and is normally considered Slavic. However, from time to time it is thought to be Celtic, and also in view of the most probable Celticity of the identical *Veneti* in modern Brittany (DCC: 231). There are different views on the relationship of the “Gaulish”, Adriatic and “Baltic” Veneti (and also Homeric Φενετῶν as well as Hittite ^{TUL}Wa-na-at-ti-ja-ta); see BADER 1994: 68–72, KALYGIN 2011: 186, KUZMENKO 2011: 163), but it seems likely that they emerged independently in various languages although of course they probably go back to the same PIE etymon. See a coherent discussion of the “Venetic” problem in palaeo-European context, which also takes account of tribal names (also of various linguistic affiliations) by J. LOICQ (2003)⁸.

Celtic River-Names in the East

European river-names of Celtic origin have been in the focus of scholarly attention for a considerable amount of time, and most recently this hydronymic data has been used in the long-lasting dispute on the Celtic *Urheimat*, see BUSSE 2007 and UDOLPH 2010. The peripheral geographic position of the hydronymic material discussed here does not allow us to enter the discussion of this most difficult and multifaceted question. Instead, it is worth having a look at the hydronomy of Eastern and Central Europe since quite a few river-names have been considered Celtic in the history of the scholarship, and there are several recent attempts to identify a number of them as Gaulish. Difficulties in “Celtic” hydronymic studies are of course known to scholars. Thus, in his introduction to the linguistic study of the pre-Roman river-names of the ancient Pannonia P. ANREITER (2001: 220) summarized the core of the matter in the following words,

⁸ I am planning to discuss some most recent suggestions on the Venetic problem (or rather, problems) elsewhere.

“eine scharfe Trennlinie zwischen ältesten und rezenteren Hydronymen ist nicht immer leicht zu ziehen, exakte Name-Volk-Zuordnungen nicht immer leicht durchzuführen“,

and this is of course absolutely relevant for the territories further east. Furthermore, apart from the problems similar to those related to the selection of settlement names and hydronyms from an onomastic landscape, it should be taken into consideration that “Celtic” hydronymic nomenclature is more limited than the place-names elements. Indeed, we have at our disposal just a small group of hydronymic words reflected in Celtic river-names formation, see e.g. DCC s. vv. *abo*, *alauna-*, *dubro-*, *iscā-*, *rēno-* or *tamo-* and a discussion of some of them in BUSSE 2007: 92–96. Some of the hydronymic words are not exclusively Celtic (cf. DCC s. vv. *albo/ā-* ‘white’ or *iso-* ‘fast, powerful (of flowing river)'). Unfortunately, river-names of Celtic linguistic origins in a wider sense have never have been a subject of a systematic comprehensive analysis as was carried out, for example, for Germanic, German, Slavic or “Old European” hydronymy, cf. e.g., GREULE 2011. Indeed, although we have at our disposal a certain amount of brilliant works on Welsh and Cornish river-names, as well as a set of publications on Celtic hydronymy in ancient Britain and the Continent, both synchronically and diachronically this field of expertise remains quite patchy and inconsistent.

As for the Gaulish river-names, for example, one should consider that there are still disputes on the Celtic / Pre-Celtic / “Old European” status of some of them, there is no readily available mapping of the evidence, and no general conclusions on the morphological patterns they use, and the list of criticism of various kinds could be continued. Even more, methodological aspects of the problem (as, for example, discussed in BICHLMEIER 2009b: 173–184 and BICHLMEIER 2011: 63–65) should be also taken into consideration. Generally, it seems that the vision of Welsh hydronymy of Daniel Defoe expressed in his letter written in 1724, “tis very remarkable, that most of the rivers in this country chime upon the letters T, and Y, as Taaf, Tawy, Tuy, Towy, Tywevy”⁹, is echoed in some works on river-names even today, and there is an obvious need of a comprehensive survey of Gaulish hydronymy unavoidably from a comparative Celtic linguistic perspective. There are few portions of this work which have been already done, cf. in this respect the discussion of Gaulish river names in modern France which

⁹ Quoted from *Letters from Wales*, edited by Joan Abse (BRIDGEND 2000), p. 98. Cf. also BICHLMEIER 2009: 8 on the existing discussions of Gaulish data. See also the section ‘River-names’ written by Richard Coates in *CVEP*: 357–366.

are semantically connected with mythology in LACROIX 2007: 32–88, cf. also FALILEYEV 2007a: 246, but much more should be done still.

Therefore for the time being in many cases our judgement on the linguistic Celticity of a given hydronym is based solely on a possibility of Celtic etymology. Needless to say, sometimes the suggested Celtic etymologies turn out to be impossible, sometimes – at least questionable. Thus, for example, in his recent study of the river names of the modern Czech Republic V. BLAŽEK (2010: 34–35) suggested that two late attested river-names – Haná and Křemže – are of Celtic origin. According to this scholar the former goes back to **gadnā* in view of W. *gan*, pl. *-oedd*, ‘contents, volume’, and the latter is compared with *Cremisia*, a tributary of the Danube (modern Krems in Austria), both to Celt. **crem-* ‘garlic’. It may be mentioned in parenthesis that this and other Celtic etymologies have been applied to the river-name in Austria before, and these are surveyed in WIESINGER 1995: 358–60.

The Celtic interpretation of Haná offered by Professor Blažek is difficult from several standpoints. Indeed, a component **gando-* is plausibly attested in Celtic place-names, but treated differently, cf. ‘container, vessel’ *vel sim.* in DE BERNARDO STEMPER 2005: 81 or DELAMARRE 2012: 155, and ‘rare, poor’ in ISAAC 2004, Celtic elements, s.v. **gando-*; cf. also MATASOVIĆ 2009: 150. The obvious problem in dealing with the suggested prehistory of *Haná* is that continuations of Celtic **gando-* are not attested in linguistically Celtic hydronomy, Insular or Continental, and to explain the place-name *Gannodurum* in Germania Superior by referring to a river name unattested elsewhere would be at least premature. What is important, that the similarly looking river-name (*Hanna*) is attested in the territory of the neighbouring Poland, and it has been argued to have Pre-Slavic origins by Z. BABIK (2001: 130)¹⁰. Could both these cases be explained as stemming from the same substratum language in both areas? Probably the answer may be in the positive, but the Celtic substratum should be probably excluded as then the form becomes completely isolated and unsupported by the undeniable Celtic evidence; note the Germanic approach to the hydronym in LUTTERER *et al.* 1982: 100.

The latter example, that of Křemže, raises questions of a slightly different kind. Of course, *Cremona* in Northern Italy is already traditionally analysed in conjunction with Middle Irish *crim*, *crem*, Welsh *craf* ‘garlic’, therefore ‘garlic

¹⁰ For the river name *Gadna* (also recorded as *Ganna*) in modern Slovakia see VARSÍK 1990: 130.

town', see DCC: 110–111 and cf. e.g., DE BERNARDO STEMPEL 2000: 86. It has aptly been stressed by G. R. ISAAC (2002 and 2004, Possibly Celtic elements, s.v. **cremo-*), however, that in this case "unambiguous formal diagnosticity is lacking, and the location of the LN is not such as to force us to look for Celticity", and the speculative nature of this etymology is noted in MATASOVIĆ 2009: 222. It is even more important that the *Krems*-hydronymy of Central Europe has been thoroughly and meticulously analysed by P. WIESINGER (1995), who strongly argued for its Slavic origins. More recently A. GREULE (2007: 33) remarked that the river-name Kremnitz in north-eastern Bavaria is Slavic, and this list of references may be of course continued. Therefore it is erroneous to deal with the river-name Křemže in modern Czech Republic as originally Celtic.

There are only few river names in this vast area, which have been, correctly or not, considered as linguistically Celtic, and which were recorded already in antiquity. The most famous of them is of course the Danube, which has been considered Celtic by quite a few of authors, from A. Holder (I: 1225) to P. BUSSE (2007: 92) or X. DELAMARRE (2012: 133). Indeed, its derivation from **dānu-* 'river' (< **deh₂-nu* < **deh₂-*, cf. IEW: 175 s. v. **dā-* 'flüssig, fließen') and the Insular Celtic *comparanda* normally adduced here (e.g., Welsh *Donwy*) is a strong argument for its linguistic Celticity alongside certain considerations of extra linguistic nature. Notwithstanding all that, other linguistic attributions of the river-name are known and are advocated by various scholars, see references in FALILEYEV 2006: 30–31 and FALILEYEV 2012: 52–53, cf. also ANREITER 2001: 237–38. Generally, it is impossible not to agree with P. SIMS-WILLIAMS (2006: 216) that "its Celticity is unprovable". Likewise it is difficult to prove the linguistic Celticity of many river-names in the area. Thus, the river name *Sava* attested already by Strabo (IV, 6, 10) is Celtic for X. DELAMARRE (2012: 230–31), who also admits a possibility of its pre-Celtic, viz. "Old European" origin, for which see ANREITER 2001: 257 or UDOLPH 2010: 99–101 and cf. BICHLMEIER 2011: 65–74 with further references. Its tributary *Colapis* (Kupa), also recorded first by Strabo, is mentioned by X. DELAMARRE (2012: 58) in his discussion of Celt. **arelape* (for which see now also BICHLMEIER 2009a: 254–265) which is perhaps unfair: see the discussion in ANREITER 2001: 227–28 and cf. RADMAN-LIVAJA – IVEZIĆ 2012: 139. *Gabranus* known from epigraphy and located in Scythia Minor somewhere in the Danube delta is a crux. As it will be shown below, it is found in an area where we come across a reasonable enclave of Celtic geographical names, and therefore the possibility that there may be a linguistically Celtic river-name alongside toponyms and an ethnic name of Celtic origin cannot

be simply ruled out. Moreover, it may indeed have a perfect Celtic etymology, see below on *Gabreta Hyle*. It is also important that the Welsh cognate of the word is found in Welsh river-names, cf. *Gafran* in Pembrokeshire, for which see CHARLES 1992: 12. However, it may well belong to a different historical layer of hydronymy, see FALILEYEV 2007: 13–14 and note YANAKIEVA 2009: 56–59, where its Celtic affiliation notwithstanding the existing counterarguments is accepted as a possibility.

The ancient name of the Morava Βρόγγος (Herodotus IV, 49) which has been considered by some academic Celtic theoretically allows a Celtic linguistic interpretation (cf. e.g., GREULE 2007: 185 for a Gaulish interpretation of the river *Prag* in modern Germany), but the cumulative evidence, including the date of its first attestation, strongly argues against its linguistic Celticity. *Oescus* (modern Iskar in Bulgaria), also recorded first by Herodotus (IV, 49 Σκίος) has been long compared with Irish *uisce* ‘water’, and hence was Celtic for a few academics. However, linguistically this analysis is untenable; for these two river-names see FALILEYEV 2012: 187–8 and FALILEYEV 2013: 90, 105–106. The ancient name of modern Tisza – *Pathissus* – was labelled Celtic e.g., by A. Holder (II: 1856), but this suggestion is no longer acceptable, see YANAKIEVA 2009: 108–109. Although in the past the river-names *Naissus*, *Timachus*, *Pingus* (all in modern Serbia) and **Serus* (deduced from Ποντεσέριον Proc. De aed. 129, 10), as well as *Securisca* and *Scretisca* (both reflected in settlement names), all in Bulgaria, have been considered Celtic, they certainly are not, see the discussion in FALILEYEV 2013 s. vv.

Most recently V. BLAŽEK (2012: 12) has suggested that the ancient *Axiaces* in modern Ukraine should be considered Gaulish. To start with, the association of this river name with modern Tiligul maintained by V. Blažek is not shared universally in modern historical research, and several alternative identifications of the river-name mentioned by Ptolemy (III, 5, 4 and 10,7 Ἀξιάκης), Mela (II, 1, 7, *Asiaces*) and Pliny (*HN* IV, 12, 82, *Axiaces*) are available, see references in FALILEYEV 2006: 22–23. To explain the hydronym as Celtic V. Blažek refers to a rare Irish *ais* ‘river’ which is attested in glossaries, the French river *Aisse* (H.-Alpes, Cant.), derivable from Gaulish **Axia*, and (with less confidence) to Old Irish *ais* ‘back’. It may be also mentioned in parenthesis that X. DELAMARRE (2012: 41 and 68) differentiates between hydronyms *Aesis* (*Aesis flumen*, Αἴσις ποταμός – sic!) and **axsā*, *axso-* ‘une rivière’, reflected in *L'Asse*, *As*, etc. He connects the former with the divine name *Esus* (for which see the discussion with

further references in FALILEYEV, forthcoming), while the latter is derived from **ab-sā*.

Professor Blažek suggests that the hydronym belongs to a well known morphological pattern in Celtic. Indeed, the suffix is well attested in Gaulish (see RUSSELL 1988), but is normally used in conjunction with personal names and less frequently common nouns. There are some possible cases where the suffix **-āko-* is used with river-names, but then the outcome of the derivation is rather an ethnic name and not a toponym. This may be illustrated by the ethnic names *Arevaci* if indeed it denotes ‘the people of/who live near the river *Areva*’ (for other possible interpretations of it see DCC: 55). It should not be forgotten that the hydronym *Axiaces* has long been in the focus of onomastic research, and various linguistic attributions (Thracian or Dacian being most likely) have been assigned to it, see FALILEYEV 2006: 22–23 and YANAKIEVA 2009: 23–24 where further references are provided. Therefore, although on face value the hydronym may indeed allow a Celtic etymology, cumulative evidence offers a strong argument against its Celticity.

To my knowledge, not a single river name located in Eastern Europe and recorded in the post-ancient sources may be considered as Celtic in origin, although such attempts, as we have already seen, are of course known. On top of the examples already noted above, one may also consider the following. In the territory of modern Serbia it has been sometimes suggested that several river-names belonging to the *Kolubara* river basin (the right tributary of the Sava river), viz. 123 km long *Kolubara* itself as well as *Cačer*, *Ljig*, *Obnica*, *Onjeg* and *Ràbas*, are Celtic, but this is most unlikely, see FALILEYEV 2013: 51–53. In modern north-western Bulgaria, where likewise we probably find Celtic traces in ancient toponymy, the 62 km long river *Vidbol* was claimed by V. Georgiev to be Gaulish in view of the necessarily Celtic *Vindo-bona*, but he later reconsidered his views, see references in CB: 17. As far as I am aware, there have been no recent attempts to find Celtic traces in the hydronymic landscape of Modern Greece, Albania, Macedonia (on *Doberos* see below) or Montenegro. To the north of the Danube, there have been several suggestions to see originally Celtic hydronyms in modern river-names of Romania, but all of them have been explained differently.

As for the territory of modern Poland, we are also aware of such attempts, but they have long been considered highly questionable (cf. WOŹNIAK 1970: 20f) and the comprehensive study by Z. BABIK (2001) has not revealed a single example of a Celtic river name in this country. Attempts are known to see in the modern hydronyms of Slovakia linguistically Celtic ones, again, basically due to their

visual similarities with Gaulish and British river-names. Indeed, such names as *Bebrava*¹¹ or *Laborec* may trigger certain Celtic associations, but they are not in fact Celtic, see VARSIK 1990: 46 and 150–52. Most recently such an attempt was offered by A. SHAPOSHNIKOV (2012), who compared the modern river-name *Orava* in Slovakia with a set of Gaulish river-names reflected e.g., in modern Erve and Avre in France. The author quotes its medieval attestations, which notably include *Araua* and *Arwa*, and as the French hydronymy is undeniably of Celtic origins (see DELAMARRE 2012: 63), such comparison cannot be but attractive, although only superficially. However, as Z. BABIK (2001: 207–208) has shown, even if there are various approaches to the treatment of the hydronym in Slovakia in the history of the scholarship, there is no necessity at all to refer to the ‘Celtic’ factor. Therefore, in this case we face yet another example of the “long arm of coincidence”.

Several modern river-names of the Ukraine have been identified as historically Celtic, too. It may be noted in parenthesis that this selection has been criticized for various methodological flaws as “Old European” aspect was ignored (cf. UDOLPH 2010: 92), and what is perhaps more important these hydronyms allow for a different linguistic affiliation. In fact, the river-names *Tynja* (Тынѧ), *Tnja* (Тňѧ) and perhaps also *Otavin* may be analysed as Celtic, but most probably they are Slavic, as for example, J. Udolph, maintains, to **tynъ*, **tynja* (cf. Old Church Slavonic *tina*); see FALILEYEV 2006a with further references and cf. BABIK 2001: 338. It is notable though that this particular area is within the region of the Zarubynči archaeological culture, which is also associated with Celtic influences, see KAZAKEVICH 2012: 183 fn. 3. More modern river names in the Ukraine are considered Celtic in origin by historians (cf. e.g., STRIŽAK 1988: 80f.), but these conclusions are based on the visual similarities of the attestations with the hydronyms of western Europe, some of which are indeed Gaulish. They are not supported by linguistic research of any kind, and as all those river-names are safely explained as non-Celtic in the scholarly literature, they will not be discussed here.

Therefore, it seems fair to admit that only few river-names attested in Eastern Europe may be of Celtic origin, particularly those attested in the ancient sources, and all of them indeed allow a different linguistic attribution. As for the layer of

¹¹ The cognate hydronym *Bobrava* (Czech Republic) attested first in 1048 is of course also Slavic, see LUTTERER *et al.* 1982: 55. For the name of the lake *Biebrowo* in Poland see BABIK 2001: 348.

hydronymy, which is first attested in medieval sources, their linguistic Celticity remains utterly suspicious.

Celtic Oronyms in the East

There are only few oronyms in the western part of Europe which are securely interpreted as Celtic, e.g., *Vosegus* (modern Vogesen in France) see DCC: 243, a different Celtic analysis in DELAMARRE 2012: 279, or *Cebenna* (Cévennes / Massif Central in France), DCC: 96. The majority of them, however, are more safely analysed as at least potentially Celtic, as their pre-Celtic origin with the subsequent Celticization (apparently with folk etymology involved) cannot be ruled out by default. This point may be illustrated by many examples. The oronym *Alba* (Schwäbische Alb in Germany) is indeed probably Celtic, to **albo-/ā-* ‘white’ < PIE **h₂elbʰ-* (Lat. *albus*), but it is not out of the question that it was coined in a different idiom, although with the same underlying etymology, see DCC: 6 and 41. The mountain name *Idoubeda* (Sistema Ibérico, Spain), at face value allows a Celtic approach, but it is more likely to be non-Celtic, while the linguistic attribution of *Taunus* which survived under the same name in Germany, notwithstanding its possible Celtic etymology, remains disputable; see DCC: 134 and 213. The oronym *Vintur* (Mont Ventoux in France) may go back to Celtic **uinto-* ‘wind’ (DCC: 239), thus ‘windy mountains’ *vel sim.*, but the word-formation may be seen as problematic although solvable and therefore a folk-adaptation of a pre-Celtic mountain name is not completely out of the question again. *Voberca* Mountain (Sierra de la Virgen, near Bubierca in Spain) remains a mystery, see DCC: 240 and SIMS-WILLIAMS 2006: 237. It may just be recalled here that the name of the Alps has been a battlefield of opinions and there is no consensus reached as for its provenance, although Celtic is of course a usual suspect.

It is notable in this respect that in Central Europe in contrast with the Western part of the continent there are several mountain names which at least allow a Celtic interpretation or maybe indeed Celtic. *Ketion Oros* (Κετίον ὄρος, Ptol. II, 13,1, modern Wienerwald in Austria, DCC: 138) is most definitely Celtic, ‘woody mountain’ *vel. sim.*; there is no need to remind the reader about the semantic connection between the words denoting ‘wood’ and ‘mountain’. The famous *Hercynia* (*silva*), which is well known to the authors of antiquity (Aristotle, Meteorol. I, 13, 19, etc., cf. VISY 2004), is undeniably Celtic, and is traditionally labeled as such already in the earlier scholarship, see a useful

bibliographic survey in RASCH 2005: 58. It goes back to Gaulish **erkunyā* < **perkʷunyā*; for the linguistic analysis of this oronym which allows to solve the riddle of the lack of dissimilation of *kʷ* in front of *u* see FALILEYEV 2009: 205, where further bibliography is cited. A more difficult example is that of *Gabreta Hyle* (Γαβρῆτα Strabo VII, 1, 5) which is now associated with Novohradské hory or Klet' or Libín in the modern Czech Republic (BLAŽEK 2010: 26). It has been long considered Celtic in view of Gaulish **gabro-* ‘goat’, SCHWARZ 1961: 36–37, DCC: 126, DELAMARRE 2012: 153. It goes without saying that the word for ‘goat’ is attested in mountain name formation in various traditions, e.g. Greek (PAPE – BENSELER 1911) or Lithuanian (VANAGAS 1969: 29), cf. also DCC: 128 s.v. *Gaura M.* Although these considerations speak in favour of the linguistic Celticity of *Gabreta*, it has been noted more than once that in theory it may have been coined in a pre-Celtic language in view of the known *comparanda* (cf. BLAŽEK 2010: 26 with further references which could also be found in DOBIÁŠ 1964: 12), but was also meaningful for the speakers of Gaulish, and similar cases are known in other linguistic environments, cf. e.g., SUKHACHEV *et al.* 2012: 91–93. For the Σημανοῦς “Υλη see above.

There are still more difficult examples. Thus, *Melibokon* (Μηλίβοκον ὄρος, Ptol. II, 11, 5, Thüringer Wald / Krušné hory) is really problematic, and several attempts to explain it as Celtic are readily available. According to G. R. ISAAC (2004, Comment ad *Me:libokon*),

“the second element suggests the Germanic work for ‘beech’, Germ. *Buch*, ON *bók*, etc., raising dendrological questions which I shall not attempt to address here. The first element, on the other hand, immediately calls to mind the word for ‘honey’: something like ‘Honey-Tree Mountains’ is delightful. PIE **meli-t* ‘honey’ is extant in Germanic, e.g. Go. {*milith*}, OE *mildeaw* ‘nectar’ (Mod.E *mildew*). The stem-final *-t* of the from can be thought to have been dropped by either morphological (analogical composition form) or phonological (**Melit-bok->*Melibok->* simplification **Melibok-*) processes. The eta can of course represent /e(:)/ or /i(:)/, so there would be no implications for the development of ‘West Germanic’ vocalism in the form {*Me:libokon*}. And omicron for what should have been original /o:/ is, I think, trivial. There may be ways to analyse the form as Celtic, but they are not obvious to me: **meli-* is

good Celtic also, but **bok-* is difficult; **meli-bokko-* might suggest ‘honey-mouth’, but that is, obviously, unpersuasive”.

V. BLAŽEK (2010: 26) in his turn takes the linguistic Celticity of this oronym for granted. He suggests its derivation from Celtic **maili-bāg[ak]on*, which he interprets as ‘hill of beeches’, subsequently adapted by the speakers of Germanic as **mēli-bōkon*. This suggestion is difficult to accept as Celtic **maili-* ‘hill’ is unknown to me.

The name of the mountains separating Thessaly and Macedonia *Cambunii montes* (Liv. 42, 53, 6; 44, 2, 6) is at least consistent with Celtic place-names in **cambo-* ‘crooked’, and *Galata* (Γαλάτης) known from Plutarch (Phoc. 33) as an alternative name for Mount Acrurium (Ακρούριον ὄρος), has been long traced to the Celtic ethnic name (cf. “Gallierberg” in German language tradition); see further FALILEYEV 2013: 37 and 70. Apart from these examples, not a single oronym of Celtic origin is attested in Eastern Europe in antiquity. Later documented names of mountains or mountain ranges, as was discussed above, sometime indeed show certain similarities to various Celtic forms, but they are easily explained as coined in the local medieval or modern languages. However, occasionally Celtic interpretations of such names still appear in academic literature. Thus, for example, quite recently A. SHAPOSHNIKOV (2012: 217) has suggested that the Beskids or Beskid Mountains (north and western Carpathian area) may be Celtic in origin in view of the forms in *bes-* and *cēt-* collected by Holder. Although the origins of the (pre-Slavic) oronym is still disputable, and various idioms, both ancient and modern, are referred to for the discussion (cf. e.g., LUTTERER *et al.* 1982: 51–52), a mechanical transposition of heterogenous data accumulated more than a century ago to explain the name of the mountain is methodologically at least problematic. And, finishing this section, it is appropriate to quote from P. SIMS-WILLIAMS (2006: 314 fn. 46): “in general, distinguishing Celtic hydronyms and oronyms from merely Indo-European ones is difficult”.

II. Celtic Place-Names in Central Europe: Some Considerations

Before we focus on the most eastern linguistic traces of the presence of the Celtic-speaking peoples in Europe in antiquity, it is worthy paying some attention to Celtic / Gaulish toponymy of the central part of the continent, see *Map 2*. The reasons for this are different for the two modern countries in question, Hungary and the Czech Republic.

Hungary

As E. HAMP (1990: 59) once noted, “the soil of Hungary never fails to bring us linguistic originality and fresh lessons”, and Celtic data preserved within the modern borders of this country is no exception. Personal names of Gaulish origin known from inscriptions of the Roman time have been carefully studied by W. MEID (2005), cf. also MEID 2007, and they are indeed extremely important for the study of Celtic anthroponymy. These are not, however, considered here, as the aim of the present work is to survey the geographical names. The starting point for the discussion of Celtic place-names in this area is certainly the most important book by P. ANREITER (2001) which accumulates all the data from this part of the Roman province of Pannonia known by the turn of the XX / XXI centuries and provides a thoughtful discussion and analysis thereof. This publication triggered further discussion of Celtic (and presumably Celtic) geographical names of the area, and this section will survey both old and new interpretations, and also some fresh data pertaining to the territory. The historical “Celticity” of parts of modern Hungary has long been argued by scholars, and archaeological records which are related to this set of questions have been carefully studied, see a useful overview of the problem in SZABÓ 1988 and recently in COLOMBO 2010. It is also worth noting that some linguists even find loans from Gaulish in modern Hungarian. Thus, it has been suggested that Hungarian *tót* (denoting the Slovaks) goes back to Celtic **teutā* ‘people’, see TRUBACHOV 1991: 42 and cf. KALYGIN 2006: 65. This is not likely: although this is in fact a borrowing from an Indo-European language, we do not need to consider Celtic-speakers at all here, cf. BENKŐ 1992–1997: 1535¹².

¹² TRUBACHOV 1991: 42 also suggests that Hungarian *mén* ‘stallion’ goes back to Gallo-Lat. *mannus* (< Celt. **mandu-*). BENKŐ 1992–1997: 960 leaves the word unexplained. See DLG: 215 for the discussion of the Celtic word(s) and note the Balkan *comparanda*

It has been already emphasized that “the local names in the Celtic settlement area are mostly Pannonian in origin” (MEID 2007: 189), and, as noted above, the distributional pattern of geographical names may play a valuable role for their Celtic linguistic attribution. Therefore, attention should be paid to these toponyms of Celtic and possibly Celtic origin which are located in proximity and may form a toponymic ‘cluster’. The analysis of the place-names in the territory of modern Hungary points to several Celtic onomastic enclaves. The first of them may be located in the vicinity of the Danube in the north-eastern part of the country, from modern Győr in the west to Esztergom in the east. It should be kept in mind that not all geographical names discussed below are definitely Celtic; some of them allow a “Pannonian” explanation (for the term cf. also FALILEYEV 2013b), and the possibility of foreign-language transmission of a toponym which yielded a form compatible with Celtic or meaningful in Gaulish cannot be ruled out by default. However, this cluster embraces at least one definitely Celtic place-name, and it will be taken as a starting point for the further discussion.

Indeed, there is hardly any doubt that the ancient name of modern Szőny – *Brigetio* – is Celtic. It is attested in the “Geography” of Ptolemy and later sources (see DCC: 80–1), and has been considered to be a direct derivative of G. **brig-* ‘high (fortified) settlement’, ‘hill-fort’ (for which see DCC: 11–12 and cf. also discussion above), **brig-eto-io-on vel. sim.*, see particularly HAMP 1990 and cf. also the derivation of modern *Britten* from **Brigeta* in GREULE 2007: 208 for a parallel. However, X. DELAMARRE (2012: 88) was most probably correct when he suggested that this place-name was based on a corresponding personal name: *Brigetio* is notably located on a flat surface; see the view towards *Brigetio* over the Danube from Calamantia / Celemantia on the front cover. To the east of *Brigetio*, between Almásfűzítő and Tokod (ancient *Cardellaca*) we find *Crumerum*, which is associated with modern Nyergesújfalu. According to P. ANREITER (2001: 56–7), the name is Pannonian, but X. DELAMARRE (2009: 94 and 2012: 130) has argued that it should be considered Celtic. He suggests that the place-name should be derived from a non-attested Gaulish personal name which he reconstructs as **Cru-mero-* ‘Sang-fou’, noting its “Draculan” associations. Probably, there exist other possible analyses of this alleged personal name (cf. in this respect continuations of PIE **mer-* ‘to die’ IEW: 736 for the discussion of the second part of the compound), but by default any attempts to clarify it

presented there which may be relevant for this discussion; generally, a Celtic explanation is again most unlikely here.

remain speculative. Of course, the geographical position of the settlement which is found, as should be recalled in a Celtic enclave, may in fact speak in favour of its Celtic origin. It is perhaps futile to refer to the name, which is not attested elsewhere but nonetheless very poetical, to explain the toponym. Instead, it may be, although tentatively, considered in conjunction with its actual geographical position, and here two possibilities present themselves.

As the settlement is located in the area where the Danube bends one may find it appropriate to consider here a reflex of Celtic **krumbo-* ‘round, curved’, for which see MATASOVIĆ 2009: 227. It has been noted, however, that in Gaulish “there is little or no trustworthy evidence of the assimilation of *mb* to *m(m)*” (GPN: 405), and all the attestations of the toponym starting with the “Antonine Itinerary”, unanimously point to *-m-* in this form. At the same time it should be taken into consideration that there is a set of examples, difficult as it is, which may point to this assimilation. Thus, for example, the name of the Galatian priestess of Artemis Κάμπα is sometimes traced to (various) underlying forms in **kamb-*, although its Anatolian origin is not out of question, see FREEMAN 2001: 35; P. DE BERNARDO STEMPPEL (2010: 68) refers to two Hispano-Celtic attestations which may be relevant here. The problem of *mb > (m)m* in Gaulish was most recently surveyed by J. ESKA (2013: 55), who comes to the conclusion that “this assimilation is rare, if present at all, in Transalpine Celtic, though it is regular in Cisalpine Celtic, but only intramorphemically”. As the data at our disposal, including Galatian, which supports this sound-change remains mostly controversial, and as in our particular case the position is not intramorphemical, such an approach would remain unsupported.

There is still a theoretic possibility to analyse it as Celtic, if following R. MATASOVIĆ (2009: 227) we try to reconcile Celtic **krumbo-* ‘round, curved’ with **krundi-* ‘round, compact’, which may point to the underlying **krum-*, which is difficult. The reference to this **krum-* may in theory explain the toponym in question, but such an approach is not fruitful insofar it offers the only reflex of the stem in this particular toponym. It is also important for the present discussion that the substrate origin of **krum-* has been acknowledged. Another possibility to consider the place-name *Crumerum* Celtic in view the topography of the settlement itself may offered by its comparison with Gaulish **crouco-* ‘hillock, hill’, for which see DCC: 16. According to J. Pokorny (IEW: 938), this should be analysed as an extended form **(s)kreu-k-*, to **(s)kreu-* itself derived from **(s)ker-* ‘turn, bend’ (IEW: 935). Pokorny lists in this entry sets of its continuations in *-l-, -k- and -t-*, and one may wonder if a derivation in *-m-* from this stem may be

equally possible. As there is no available comparative evidence, such an approach faces the same problems as the previous one and therefore cannot be rewarding as it does not offer an economic solution of the problem.

Still another problem emerging along this line of approach is the morphological configuration of the toponym, which is difficult. A similar-looking geographical name from Gaul, *Cessero* (St-Thibéry in France) cannot be taken as a parallel, for it see (differently) DCC: 98 and DELAMARRE 2012: 113. The discussion of *Crumerum* may benefit therefore from a closer look at a place-name *Incerum* which is listed as ‘*Incero*’ in BA (and hence DCC: 135). The name is noted to be “völlig unklar” by P. ANREITER (2001: 214), and G. R. ISAAC (2002, s.v.) offers two morphological segmentations of the toponym, *in-cero* and *inc-ero*, without discussing its linguistic attribution. The latter possibility offers then an intriguing parallel for the analysis *Crumerum*, and the interpretation of the stem of *Incerum* then is important. It is treated as Celtic by Holder; X. DELAMARRE (2012: 164) lists several Gaulish forms in *inc-*. Its location in modern Croatia, given as Tresanovacka gradina near Tekic in BA and as Pozega in Anreiter, *loc. cit.*, may point to the “Pannonian” provenance of the toponym, and then the Pannonian origins of *Crumerum* should be also considered. Therefore, on balance, it does not seem to be safe at all with our current knowledge to consider *Crumerum* as Celtic.

Other place-names recorded in this area and sometimes considered Celtic are also difficult. The early name of Almásfüzítő is recorded in two sources, and their spellings a different to reconcile. Indeed, if we start with the attestation in the Antonine Itinerary, IA 246, 3 *Azao in medio*, it looks very much like “Illyrian” viz. Pannonian. If start with the attestations in “Notitia Dignitatum”, *Obiado* var. *Ochabo* (33,8) and *Odiabo* (33, 29), it is very difficult, if possible at all, to offer a Celtic analysis. A reconciliation of these attestations has been suggested, and the underlying reconstructed **Adiavum* has been considered as a Pannonian place-name, see a concise discussion in ANREITER 2001: 23–24. Recently, however, it has been argued by X. DELAMARRE (2009: 92) that the toponym is Celtic in origin. According to this scholar, the geographical name is built upon the personal name, ‘pertaining to *Adiavos*’ *vel sim.*, and the anthroponym itself is Celtic. Delamarre suggests seeing in it a compounded form, **ad-iavo-*. In this analysis there are no problems with identifications of the first component, which is indeed well attested in Gaulish personal name formation, see GPN: 128–131, but the second part of the anthroponym remains exceedingly difficult. According to Delamarre, *loc. cit.*, **iavo-* (or **iāvo-*) is attested in the following anthroponyms:

Iavo-lenus from Verona, *Iauvos* (which is traced to **iavo-*) from Savaria (CIL III, 12014), *Iavenus* from Trier, and it is suggested that *Avia Iava* attested in Numidia is also a Gaulish name. We find more names with this alleged component in DELAMARRE 2007: 108 and 223, and in this list quite a few attestations are traced to Numidia. The Celticity of few attestations considered there may be doubted, and that of *Iavolenus* should be probably removed from discussion at all. If Delamarre, however, is correct in the selection of the component, there still cannot be any certainty that the reconstructed place-name indeed conceals this uniquely attested name, therefore the linguistic Celticity of the toponym within this approach remains highly questionable. At this point, nevertheless, a search for the “Gaulishness” of the name of this settlement should not be abandoned, as most scholars admit that Ptolemy in his Geography has recorded the alternative name of the settlement, Ptol. II, 11, 15 "Avōvov, var. "Avōβov, which cannot but remind of Celtic **anauo-*, or may even conceal Gaul. **abo-* ‘river’ (for these see DCC: 7 and 4 respectively).

The ancient name of Tokod is recorded in several spellings, *Gardellaca* TP 4,4; *Cardabiaca* ND oc. 33,50; *Cardelaca* Rav. 4, 20. Its original form is thus unknown, but is normally reconstructed as *Gardellaca*. The place-name remains obscure, see DCC: 127 but a presence of the suffix *-ako- (*-āko-) in its formation, and therefore its linguistic Celticity is not out of question completely. *Solva* (Esztergom) has been long compared with Celt. **selwa-* ‘possession’ reflected in W. *helw*, OIr *selb*, Gaulish *Lugu-selva* (MATASOVIĆ 2009: 329), see ANREITER 2001: 218–219, DCC: 2007 and cf. DELAMARRE 2012: 240, where the vocalism of the form is noted and the toponym *Vo-solia* is adduced as a possible *comparandum*. Note, however, that the hydronym *Solva*, modern Sulm in Austria, is also considered in the analysis of the place-name, but it is unlikely to share the Celtic etymology; for the discussion of the latter see recently BICHLMEIER 2009: 33–34. Modern *Solva* in south-western Wales (W. *Solfach*), which looks identical, is traced to the Welsh adjective *salw* ‘poor, mean’, CHARLES 1992: 20. An “Illyrian” approach to this place-name is also known, cf. VISY 1993: 10.

The most western place-name of this enclave is *Arrabona* (Györ), which most probably goes back to the corresponding river-name, *Arrabo fl.* The latter, which is securely identified with the modern Rába, has been, although with certain variations, analysed as Celtic, cf. DCC: 57. Most scholars agree that this is a compound, with the second component **abona* ‘river’, for which see DLG: 29–30 and cf. also HAMP 2008: 63. The first component is identified as **ar(e)*- ‘eastern’, cf. ANREITER 2001: 221f., accepted in DELAMARRE 2012: 54.

According to W. Meid, reported in *loc.cit.*, the place-name could be analysed as *are-* (prep.) & **abon-*, therefore ‘(a place) by the river’, a statement which claims the historical priority for the place-name over the hydronym; note that in MEID 2007: 189 a non-Celtic linguistic provenance is maintained. And, most recently, H. BICHLMEIER (2010: 107–108) offered an elegant derivation of the river name from PIE **h₁(e)rh₃-mo-* which also underlines Welsh *araf* ‘slow’.

Further west *Scarbantia* or *Scarabantia* (modern Sopron) is difficult and normally considered not Celtic, see ANREITER 2001: 122, UDOLPH 2004: 134–135 and MEID 2007: 189. Several scholars, however, have suggested that the toponym should be analysed as Gaulish. X. DELAMARRE (2009: 96) notes in this respect a toponym in Gaul *Scarpanta* and Gaulish **carbanto-*, *carbento-*, tentatively explaining the then troublesome initial of the ancient name of Sopron by “*s*-mobile”. The reference to *s*-mobile, unknown in such circumstances, requires a justification. A similar but still different explanation is offered in KOCH *et al.* 2007: 27, where the place-name is traced to **Exs-karbantia* ‘outside the place of chariots’. Both the morphological structure of the toponym and its semantics should be questioned. Of course, Gaulish *ex-* is well attested in various spellings in personal names (see D. Ellis Evans, GPN: 202–3 and cf. WODTKO 1995: 129f.), but it may be queried if it really occurs in toponyms. The only example with which Professor Evans illustrates this usage in toponymy is *Excingomagos*, but probably X. DELAMARRE (2012: 152) is correct in his derivation of the place-name from a well attested personal name. There are also attempts to explain the place-name as a hybrid compound (see MÁDY 1965: 209–210 where also a complete survey of previous literature is offered, cf. also ADAMIK 2003: 266) with Celt. **scarā-* as the first component. Indeed, **scara* ‘divide’ is reconstructed for Proto-Celtic (see MATASOVIĆ 2009: 340, on apheresis in Gaulish see most recently ESKA 2013: 57), but this may be of course accidental and in any case in Gaulish toponymy this word has not been observed. For **bantia*, which may find parallels in the “Illyrian” onomastic landscape, see also FALILEYEV 2013b: 299. One may note in this respect that the word division of the toponym, and its original form are still disputable, cf. ANREITER 2001: 122 where a possibility to trace the place-name to **skarb-* is entertained. This settlement, interestingly, has been long considered to be on the eastern border of the *habitat* of the Celtic *Boii* (ANREITER 2001: 150–157), and if indeed Celtic, in theory should be attributed to them. At the same for quite a few understandable reasons this geographical argument cannot be decisive.

To the south(-east) of this cluster, closer to modern Budapest, we find another group of geographical names which may be considered Celtic. Two alleged toponyms in *Lus-* are of interest in this respect. The ancient name of Bicske is attested in two variants, *Lusomana* TP 4, 4, *Lumano* (var. *Luniano*) Rav. 4, 20, and P. ANREITER (2001: 78–9), who takes the form from the *Tabula* as basic and reconstructs (similarly to BA) *Lussomana*, discusses it as Pannonian. The same is Anreiter's verdict on *Lussonium* (modern Dunakömlőd), ANREITER 2001: 81. A Celtic approach to the treatment of these two toponyms is, however, conspicuously feasible. The first of these may conceal *Lus(s)o-mano*, while the second may be based on the first part of the compound, cf. DCC: 154 with further references and DELAMARRE 2012: 184, where the latter is traced to a corresponding personal name. As for the morphological model, according to ISAAC (2002, s.v.), the place-name reflects **luss-on-io-*, cf. also *Vindonianus Vicus* below. The model is of course known in Celtic place-name formation (cf. *Bononia*, etc.), but, as should be admitted, is not diagnostically Celtic, cf. various linguistic attributions of *Andautonia* (modern Ščiterjevo in Croatia), which has been treated both as Pannonian and Celtic, in DCC: 47.

Identification of **lusso-* remains difficult, although it may be indeed connected with Celt. **lussu-* ‘herb, vegetable’, cf. ISAAC 2002 and 2004, Poss. Celtic Elements, s.v. *lussu-*, MATASOVIĆ 2009: 249. Still more difficulties are raised by the interpretation of *Lussomana* (cf. SIMS-WILLIAMS 2006: 210 fn. 128). If it is Celtic, the suffix (or rather chain of suffixes) *-ma-n-* is unlikely, but if the place-name is to be treated as a compound, one may consider here the component **mano-* (*meno-?* *mono-?*), which, however, remains enigmatic, see DCC: 24 and cf. DCC: 62–53 (s.v. *Aulerci Cenomani*), 97–98 (s.v. *Cenomani*) and 164 (s.v. *Monate*). This, of course, does not make interpretation of the place-name clearer, and neither does a possible reference to an *i*-stem Common Celtic **māni-* ‘turf, peat’ (MATASOVIĆ 2009: 255). It should be also taken into consideration that **man-* is also known in “Illyrian”, see references provided in FALILEYEV 2008: 148–49. The question thus remains, if the toponym should indeed be considered Gaulish without any reservations.

The toponym *Matrica* (Százhalombatta) is in no way straightforwardly Celtic, but if it is, it may reflect Celtic **matr-*, for which see DCC: 24 and note that X. DELAMARRE (2012: 194) is definitely in favour of its linguistic Celtness. *Vindonianus Vicus* (Budapest-Békásmegyer) attested epigraphically (CIL III, 3626) is perfectly Celtic, at least at face value, and may either conceal **uindo-* or, rather, a corresponding personal name. Although *Aquincum*, the ancient name of

the modern Hungarian capital is normally treated Pannonian and is considered to contain a Pannonian equivalent of Lat. *aqua* ‘water’ and the suffix *-inc-* (see ANREITER 2001: 34, MEID 2007: 189 and cf. already KRAHE 1946: 213 with earlier literature), X. DELAMARRE (2009: 93) has recently suggested that it should be analysed as Celtic. He derives the toponym from the underlying **Acu-vinco-* ‘la victoire rapide’ which he considers a personal name. Although formally the etymology is unproblematic, doubts may be cast on the necessity of considering the toponym Celtic at all. The same may be said about the toponym *Cusum* (modern Pétervárad) which is traced by X. DELAMARRE (2012: 132) to a Celtic personal name *Cüssus*. Delamarre admits that the single *-s-* in all the attestations of the toponym presents a problem, and in fact there is possibly no need to affiliate the place-name with the Celtic remnants of the area. See ANREITER 2001: 59–60 for a useful although pessimistic discussion, and note SIMS-WILLIAMS 2006: 10–11 who aptly quotes a valuable passage from PAPAZOGLU 1978: 368 where a list of geographical names (including this one) with unclear linguistic affiliations is discussed.

It is important that from historical sources we are aware of the fact that the areas around Budapest were inhabited by *Aravisci* / *Eravisci*, which may be a Celtic ethnic name with a disputable etymology (cf. ISAAC 2004 s.v., where it analysed as **aro-auo-isco*, see *aro-* & *au(o)-*). It is more likely to be in fact a celticised Pannonian tribal name, see ANREITER 2001: 206–207, cf. FALILEYEV 2002: 121, ADAMIK 2003: 265, and for a Germanic approach to its treatment, which is hardly relevant, see SITZMANN – GRÜNZWEIG 2008: 38. Although the (pre-) history of the *Aravisci* / *Eravisci* is by default quite dim and incredibly difficult, its “Celtic” component is manifested conspicuously in several ways, see a useful and illuminating interdisciplinary survey by E. JEREM (2007); cf. also VISY 1993: 5–7 for a useful survey of the historiography of this tribe. To the south of them the historians place another tribe name allows a Celtic approach, the *Hercuniates*. The ethnic name uncontroversially goes back to **erkunya* < **perkʷunya*, cf. ANREITER 2001: 167 and see above for the details of derivation in conjunction with *Hercynia silva*. To the east of the area and across the Danube Pliny (*HN* III, 147) records *deserta Boiorum* ‘the Boian waste’, for which cf. ZABEHLICKY 2004 (Lake Neusiedl on the Austro-Hungarian border, KRUTA 2000: 479); on this tribal name see below.

Somewhere between the Danube and Tibiscus (modern Timiș) two more possibly Celtic names are roughly located, Ούσκενον (var. Ούέσκενον) and Βόρμανον (var. Γόρμανον). They are known only from Ptolemy (III, 7, 2) who

gives the toponyms in a short list of towns in the area of *Iazyges Metanastae* (wandering or migrant Iazyges). The exact location of the place-names is in fact unknown (cf. BA, Map 21; Πάρτισκον which is final in the list is sometimes associated with Szeged), and their linguistic affiliations are disputable. The two names selected above indeed at least allow a Celtic linguistic attribution (cf. SIMS-WILLIAMS 2006: 193). The former immediately reminds us of the very well attested in Gaulish toponymy **ūx-* ‘high’, for which see DCC: 35, but its morphological structure remains obscure and the component *usci-* is attested, e.g., in Dacian place-names (*Usci-dava*, etc.). The latter, if indeed Celtic, may contain **bormo-*, *boruo-* ‘(hot-?) spring’ (DCC: 10–11, cf. also STIFTER 2008: 271 and 280); it should be mentioned in parenthesis that its comparison with the modern place-name *Borvisul* in Romania suggested in BILEȚCHI-ALBESCU 1928: 154 is untenable. However, we simply do not know if there were any hot springs in or near *Bormanon* as it is not precisely localized, and therefore this etymology may be misleading, also taking into consideration that similar looking non-Celtic forms have been claimed to be attested elsewhere in Europe, see SIMS-WILLIAMS 2006: 193 fn. 135. One may note, however, that the Celtic words discussed here are sometimes thought to denote “secondary” Gaulish deities (cf. LACROIX 2007: 139f.), and therefore the topographic aspects of the location of the two settlements may be different. On top of that, one should pay here attention to variant spellings of the toponyms which also add further difficulties to their linguistic affiliation. Moreover, Oෂකевов has been long suspected to be Iranian, and although there are still disputes as far as its exact etymology is concerned (see RONCA 1973: 246), this possibility cannot be ignored. Although the Iazyges spoke an early Iranian idiom, the only place-name mentioned in this section of the “Geography” – Kóvδανον – is most probably Iranian, to **kanθā-* ‘town’; for Iranian approach to the treatment of two more toponyms preserved here, viz. *Abieta* and *Parca*, see RONCA 1973: 240 and 247. A possibility that Ptolemy in this section indeed preserved some chronologically earlier names still may be envisaged, also due to the nomadic character of the Iazyges. Therefore, there cannot be much certainty in the linguistic Celticity of the toponyms, although this evidence in no way should be neglected completely. It may also be taken into consideration that it was suggested that “at the Great Hungarian Plain we have to count on a sporadic Celtic village network” (ALMÁSSY 2009: 263), but unfortunately no names of these settlements have survived.

To the south of the Balaton lake we find several toponyms which at least may allow a Celtic interpretation. It may be reminded that according to X. DELAMARRE

(2012: 214) the ancient name of the Lake Balaton *Pelso* (*Pelso lacus*, Pliny) is Celtic, too. This author derives it from **k^uel-s-*, therefore ‘Lac lointain’, but fairly admits his uncertainty of this derivation. As we know, there are quite a few difficulties related to interpretation of this hydronym, and a connection with PIE **pelh₁-* ‘to flow’, which makes it automatically non-Celtic, is most likely; see further ANREITER 2001: 248–250 with further references. The place-name *Gorsium* (modern Tác), according to P. ANREITER (2001: 213) allows both Celtic and Pannonian interpretations. The ancient name of Ságvár *Tricciana* may go back to a Celtic personal name *Triccius* (ANREITER 2001: 199). An interesting discussion followed the interpretation and linguistic attribution of the place-name *Valcum* (*Volgum* in BA, modern Keszthely-Fenépuszta). The toponym, attested only once (*Valco* IA 233,3) is Pannonian for P. ANREITER (2001: 142), who traces it to the Pannonian appellative for ‘wetland’, which he relates to Latvian *valks* ‘damp’, etc. The linguistic Celticity of the name has been argued by several scholars. Thus, according to G. R. ISAAC (2002, *comm. ad loc.*), it is “possibly a Celtic name related to OIr. *folc* ‘heavy rain, wet weather’, or with the element *Uolco-*, as in *Uolcae* ENN”. Similarly, X. DELAMARRE (2009: 72) traces it to a Celtic personal name *Volcos*. In theory the development *-o- > -a-* in this position is not difficult to explain historically, as the example of G. **vasso- < *upo-sth₂-o-* (DLG: 307–8) shows us; see the discussion in SCHRIJVER 1995: 116–130 and generalizing remarks in STIFTER 2008: 270. It is more important, though, that some alternations of *a* and *o* have been noted for Gaulish, see GPN: 391. At the same time it is also important that the identical change is postulated for the transition from PIE to Pannonian, see ANREITER 2001: 15–16 and cf. MEID 2005: 29, which makes quite a few PIE roots possible suspects here.

To the south east of it, along the Danube we find the most probably Celtic *Annamatia* associated with Duna-Földvár is located on the Danube, between *Intercisa* and *Lussonium* discussed above. The place-name, which has been considered Gaulish by several authorities, is normally derived from the word for ‘enemy’, G. **nāmant-s*, either directly (cf. **ad nāmantes* ANREITER 2001: 149, accepted in DE BERNARDO STEMPEL 2010: 69), or via a corresponding personal name (DELAMARRE 2009: 92). However, G. R. ISAAC (2002, *comm. ad loc.*) offers a plethora of etymological suggestions for the toponym, which include **ad-namo-ato-ja*, **ad-nemo-ato-ja*, **an-namo-ato-ja*, **an-nemo-ato-ja*. Whatever etymology of the place-name might be, its Celticity is very probable.

Further to the south of this enclave we encounter a place-name *Alisca* localized near modern Szekszárd. P. ANREITER (2001: 205) considers it possibly

Pannonian, noting, however, the earlier attempts to treat it as Celtic due to a characteristically Celtic suffix; however this reference to word formation may be misleading, as I noted in FALILEYEV 2013a: 86–88, but if it is in fact (Pannonised) Celtic, one may in theory consider here Gaulish **aliso-* (for Germ. **alisō-* in hydronymy cf. also BICHLMEIER 2009b: 188–193). It may be noted in this respect that the suggestion of X. DELAMARRE (2012: 46) to see in the place-name the underlying **ales-ca* from **(p)els-* is ultimately difficult and unrewarding. Still to the south of *Alisca* we find another place-name which at least theoretically allows a Gaulish interpretation. *Lugio* (modern Dunaszekcső) immediately reminds us of the “Illyrian” appellative **luga-* ‘Sumpf’ well discussed in the academic literature, cf. MAYER 1959: 73. At the same time, at face value, a connection with Gaulish **lugu-* is not entirely out of question (ANREITER 2001: 216–5); for this Gaulish word or words used in geographical names see the discussion below on *Lugii*, where further references are provided.

To the west of *Lugio* (Dunaszekcső), whose linguistic attribution is ambivalent, the ancient sources place the toponym *Sopianae* (modern Pécz). It was considered possibly Celtic by P. ANREITER (2001: 198) who suggested that it may based on a Gaulish anthroponym **Sopios* (< IE **sok^uios* ‘Gefährte, Kumpel’ < **sek^u-* ‘folgen’). Recently this suggestion has been elaborated by X. DELAMARRE (2009: 96) who noted that the modern place-name Souche in France may go back to **Soppiacon*, ‘domain de Soppius’. Other approaches to the place-name are carefully analysed by Z. MÁDY (1966: 197–201), who also offered his own etymology, for the analysis of which see ADAMIK 2003: 367 and DCC: 207. More westerly we find *Limusa* (modern Szigetvár), which may in theory be Celtic, cf. **lemo-*, *limo-* (DCC: 148 with further references); note that X. DELAMARRE (2012: 178), who considers the toponym Celtic, translates it as ‘l’ormerarie’. Located between *Limusa* and *Valcum* the place-name *Silacena* has been considered by P. ANREITER (2001: 128–9) Pannonian, but X. DELAMARRE (2009: 96) suggests a Celtic approach to the treatment of this toponym. According to this scholar the first part of the alleged Celtic compound may be compared with the predecessors of Irish *sil* ‘seed, descendants’, Welsh *hil* ‘id.’ from **silo-*; for the Common Celtic form see MATASOVIC 2009: 336. Delamarre thus suggests two variants of the interpretation of the place-name based on an anthroponym: **Sili-cenos* / **Sili-genos* ‘fils de la posterité’ or **Sili-ceno-s* ‘Longue- posterite’ which is in turn compared with the theonym *Setlo-cenia*. Both authors start with the emended form, as the sole attestation of the place-name is found in the Antonine Itinerary, *Silicensis* IA 233,2, probably an ablative plural form. The

underlying nominative is then *Silicenus*, which at least in theory admits a Celtic approach; note that the Pannonian (“Illyrian”) forms in *sil-* may be problematic from various standpoints, see further FALILEYEV, forthcoming.

In the Western part of modern Hungary we find another possible enclave of Celtic toponyms. The most obvious of them is *Moge(n)tiana* (Tüskevár according to BA, or Somlóvásárhely, thus ANREITER 2001: 196). It is uncontroversially interpreted as ‘settlement of Mogetius’, cf. ANREITER 2001: 197, DELAMARRE 2012: 200. The personal name *Mogetius* is indeed attested (CIL III, 1193), and its linguistic Celticity is certain. Although there are some dissenting views on the Celticity of this toponym (cf. ISAAC 2002, *comm.*), generally this linguistic attribution is most probable, cf. DCC: 163. Other allegedly Celtic toponyms in this area are more difficult. The ancient name of Zalalövő, *Sala*, is most probably based on the river-name *Sala fl.* (Zala), and although technically speaking it is quite consistent with Celtic (cf. Celt. **sal-*), it may have been coined in various languages, cf. in this respect its traditional association with “Old European” hydronymy in ANREITER 2001: 251. And ‘*Mestrianis*’ (Zalaszentgrót, attested only in the Antonine Itinerary, *Mestrianis* (var. *mesirianis*) IA 263, 4), although may find some Celtic associations, is most probably non-Celtic, see DCC: 162 and FALILEYEV 2012: 37–39.

This survey may benefit from consideration of the unlocated *Valina* attested only in Ptolemy (Οὐαλίνα Ptol. II, 14, 4); its exact localization is unknown: either between *Savaria* (Szombathely) and *Brigetio*, or *Halicanum* (Donja Lendava) and *Bolentium*, see ANREITER 2001: 143. P. Anreiter thinks it must be Pannonian, but does not provide further discussion apart from referring to Holder and Mayer. X. DELAMARRE (2009: 98 and 2012: 257), on the other hand, suggests seeing in it a derivation based on a Celtic name **Valinos*, from Celt. **valo-*, also attested in the modern place-names *Vaunac* and *Vallenay* in France which he traces to **Valinacon*. The question whether the name is Celtic or Pannonian cannot but remain open.

Three unlocalised ethnic names recorded only by Pliny (III, 148) may also be worthy of attention. The ethnic name *Belgites*, var. *Uelgites* is attested in a list of tribes following *Amantini* and followed by *Catari*. Its localization in the territory of modern Hungary is questionable, and although there is no doubt that it should be located in Pannonia, its Celticity is most probable. See the discussion of the ethnic name by P. ANREITER (2001: 149–50) where it is traced to **belgo-*, for which see most recently FALILEYEV 2013: 25–26 with further references and cf. KOCH *et al.* 2007: 27. The *Catari* themselves have been treated Celtic, see ANREITER

2001: 210–11, who compares the ethnic name with W. *cadr* ‘strong’ (*Catari* < **catri* < **kattro-* ‘strong’), or Old Irish *cathair* ‘town’, Welsh *cader*. The latter comparison is unacceptable, as the Welsh word alongside its Brittonic congeners is a loan from Latin *cathedra*, and the Irish word, which is historically unrelated with the *p*-Celtic forms, is traced to the putative Celtic **katrik* ‘fortification’, see MATASOVIĆ 2009: 194–95 and cf. SCHRIJVER 1995: 447, where Irish *cathair* is compared with W. *caer*. In this respect one may also consider the derivation of (modern) place-name *Cadarsac* in France from **catariciācon* ‘domain de Cataricos’ suggested in DELAMARRE 2012: 109. Note that Anreiter, *loc. cit.*, also admits the Pannonian provenance of the ethnic name, which is in any case located beyond the territory of modern Hungary, see RADMAN-LIVAJA – IVEZIĆ 2012: 139. And, finally, the ethnic name *Arabiates* most probably belongs here as well, although a Pannonian interpretation is possible, also in view of its sole attestation, *Ariuates* (vat. *Arinates*, *Ariuates*, *Arabiates*) Pliny III, 148. According to P. ANREITER (2001: 207), the ethnic name contains a recognizable formant *-at-*, which is well attested in Celtic tribal names (cf. *Hercuniates*), and is based on **arvi(j)ā* which is compared with Lat. *arvum*, etc. It may be well associated with the river name (above), but in any event its linguistic Celticity is feasible.

Czech Republic

Celtic or presumably Celtic place-names from the territory of modern Czech Republic have been most recently and comprehensively studied by V. BLAŽEK (2010). Although this scholar bases his analysis mostly on the data of Ptolemy’s “Geography”, this important collection of geographical names will also be used here as a basis for discussion, as, indeed, the predominant majority of the relevant toponyms are recorded in this particular source. The reason the list needs revision is also very transparent, as several important works on the subject were not considered in this publication. Thus, as admitted by the author (BLAŽEK 2010: 21 fn. 1), ISAAC 2004 was not available, and several other important publications, particularly DE BERNARDO STEMPERL 2008a, were neglected. As the geographical area was – for various and obvious reasons, the main one of which is non-localization of the toponyms in BA – not considered in SIMS-WILLIAMS 2006 and DCC, these place-names located within the territory of modern Czech Republic which are either Celtic or at least allow a Celtic interpretation are revisited below. This analysis is relevant for the discussion of the eastern-European data insofar as it will offer valuable parallels for the data discussed later in this publication,

and in fact modern borders should be forgotten in this respect, as the Boii of the modern Czech Republic left their traces in the onomastic landscapes of the neighbouring modern countries.

The first part of the analysis below deals with the toponyms of undeniable Celtic origin, which is followed by discussion of those place-names, whose Celtic linguistic attribution is disputable. Some oronyms of Celtic origins located in this territory have been already discussed above. As in this section the interest is laid upon primarily the linguistic aspect of the problem, historical (for which DOBIÁŠ 1964 is still indispensable) and indeed archaeological questions will not be addressed here. In general, there are no doubts about the presence of Celtic-speakers in various areas of the Czech Republic which is revealed not only by the Gaulish contribution to the toponymic landscape of the area, but also witnessed by the authors of antiquity, and is also conspicuously observed in the archaeological record. The interested reader should consult in this respect two formidable volumes devoted entirely to the archaeological problems traditionally related to the Celtic presence edited by Dr N. Venclová (VENCLOVÁ *et al.* 2008 a-b) which go into sufficient details and provide a comprehensive analysis, or a useful survey of the problem in French by P. Drda and A. RYBOVÁ (1995). For the reasons outlined above, the exact localization of the toponyms, a problem in its own right, is only rarely touched upon below; for the distribution of La Tène settlements, only few of which are known by name, see *Map 6*. The localizations are reproduced from E. Šimek's edition of *Germania Magna* by Ptolemy published in 1930–1953, and articles by S. ŘEHÁK – R. KVÉT (1993, 2002) and J. BERTHEAU (2002), as well as a monographic study KLEINEBERG *et al.* 2010 were consulted. As noted, the present author by no means trusts his own judgement on the correctness of these localizations, therefore in disputable cases all of them are provided. See also FALILEYEV 2007a: 244 and BLAŽEK 2010, where further references to the authorities in ancient geography are provided; cf. also recently BRYCHTOVÁ – TSORLINI 2011: 108–111.

It should also be reminded that the ancient sources offer us Celtic tribal names which are localized in modern Czech Republic: the *Boii* (see the discussion above on the sources of Bohemia and for *Boiodurum* see recently GREULE 2009: 692–93, cf. GREULE 2010: 9) and the *Volcae*¹³, who are associated with the *Hercynia silva* (cf. RÜBEKEIL 2002: 101 *et passim.*, and see further references in J. KYSELA 2010: 140), and who later are supposed to move from Moravia to Upper Silesia in

¹³ For *Volcae palus* see COLOMBO 2010: 195 with further references.

Poland (OLĘDZKI 2005: 147–151). It should be noted here that the exact locations of those tribes cannot be precisely established on the basis of the known evidence. Thus, as J. KYSELA (2010: 140) summarises the localization of the Boii, “scarce, not contemporary, inelegant and even contradictory statements allow only very approximative collocation of the tribe in a very widely defined zone of the Danubian Central Europe (which *may* include also Bohemia)”. Unfortunately, this inprecision and approximation in the localization of linguistically Celtic tribal names is a common disaster both for Central and Eastern Europe, as it is elsewhere.

There is no doubt that some place-names are definitely Celtic, and they are listed as such in many publications. Notwithstanding their most probable linguistic Celticity, there is an obvious necessity to revisit them, as there are various problems, both minute and big, which need to be addressed. A most obvious Celtic place-name in the region is *Karrodunon* (Καρρόδουνον, var. Κρόδουνον, Ptol. II, 11, 14) which is variously localized in academic literature: Hostýn (e.g., ŘEHÁK – KVĚT 2002: 50) and Rýmařov (KLEINEBERG *et al.* 2010: 56) have been suggested. Earlier it was tentatively associated with Krappitz an der Oder (RASCH 2005: 38), and other localisations are referred to in KLEINEBERG *et al.* 2010: 56–7. Notwithstanding the discrepancies with the localization of the settlement, the toponym has an apparent etymology, to Gaulish **carro-* ‘cart, chariot’ & **dūno-* ‘fort’, thus ‘fort of the chariots’ *vel sim.*, and this ‘Wagen-burg’ interpretation is most commonly accepted, cf. ISAAC 2004, Celtic Elements, s. v. *carro*, SIMS-WILLIAMS 2006: 60, FALILEYEV 2007: 16–17, MATASOVIĆ 2009: 191–92, DCC: 13–14, etc., and for this particular case SCHWARZ 1961: 39 and DE BERNARDO STEMPFL 2008a: 187 (where the settlement is still identified with Krapkowice / Krappitz). Possibly, there are other ways to interpret this set of place-names semantically. One may note in this respect the elegant discussion of the place-name *Cerbyd* (cf. W. *cerbyd* ‘chariot’) in Pembrokeshire, Wales, by B. G. CHARLES (1992: 228–9), who notes that the word is “used here in some uncertain topographical sense, perhaps ‘a ridge’”, and suspects that *Cerbyd* “was originally a stream-name”.

Notwithstanding this general consensus, most recently Professor V. BLAŽEK (2010: 29) also allowed its possible connection with the Celtic word for ‘stone’, Middle Welsh *carrec*, Old Irish *carrac* ‘rock, large stone’, therefore ‘stone fort’. This is very unlikely. The Insular Celtic words, for which see EGOW: 22 with further references, if indeed Indo-European in origin, point to a guttural extension, so that in Gaulish we would expect rather ***carrVc-*, and hence ***carrecodunum*

vel. sim. Note also P. Anreiter's comment to the effect that *Carrodunum* cannot contain a reflex of Celt. **karno-* 'stone' (ANREITER 2001: 163) and cf. also above.

Βούδόριγον (Ptol. II, 11, 13, MÜLLER 1883: 271, STÜCKELBERGER – GRASSHOFF 2006: 232) is traditionally located in the territory of modern Poland (see below), but according ŘEHÁK – KVĚT (1993: 190), this place-name should be identified with Hradec Králové in the modern Czech Republic, and archaeologist have identified a La Tène settlement in its vicinity, VENCLOVÁ *et al.* 2008b: 18. BA, Map 13 tentatively equates it with Uherské Hradiště in the southeast of the country. If it is indeed located in the territory of the Czech Republic, we get one more undeniable Celtic place-name in the area, which uncontroversially goes back to Gaulish **boudo-rigo-*. One may also note the alternative spelling of the toponym, Βούδόριτον. Although it is unlikely that this variant spelling represents the original name, it is worth noting that Hradec Králové lies at the confluence of the Elbe and the Orlice river, while Uherské Hradiště is located by the Morava, and the second component of the ancient place-name could be in theory identified with Gaulish **ritu-* 'ford' (cf. Modern Welsh *rhyd* 'id.'), on which see DCC: 29.

Another obvious Celtic place-name, *Lugidunum*, is recorded only by Ptolemy (II, 11, 13) and has been identified with Řepov and later, by S. ŘEHÁK and R. KVĚT (1993), with Bakov nad Jizerou. More recently it was associated with Krosno Odrzańskie in Poland (KLEINEBERG *et al.* 2010: 50), for this see also below. Linguistically speaking, this compounded toponym is well attested in the Gaulish toponymy (cf. e.g., LACROIX 2007: 157–160 for its distribution in Gaul), and although there are certain difficulties with the interpretation of its first component (see the discussion of the *Lugii* below), its Celtness is beyond any doubt, see Holder II: 308–344, SIMS-WILLIAMS 2006: 86, DCC: 23 and 153–54, DELAMARRE 2012: 183–84. The toponym found in the territory of the Czech Republic has been long considered to belong to this stock, cf. RASCH 2005: 65 and 136, or BLAŽEK 2010: 30. If we have a closer look at this passage from Ptolemy's "Geography", it turns out that the spelling Λουγίδουνον occurs only in the so-called X-manuscript of the text, while others agree on Λουτίδουνον, see MÜLLER 1883: 270, STÜCKELBERGER – GRASSHOFF 2006: 232. The importance of the XIII century Vaticanus Graecus 191 for early Gaulish toponymic studies could not be overestimated – it may be just recalled here, that the ethnic name *Britolagai* in the vicinity of the Danube Delta (for which see below) is known only from this recension. However, the fact that all the manuscripts, including Ω (for the stemma and hence the importance of this manuscript see FALILEYEV

2006: 8–9 with further references and now BURRI 2013) point to Λουτίδουνον seems to be of paramount importance.

If the original form of the place-name was in fact *Lutidunum*, it does not make the toponym non-Celtic or hybrid. The first part of it, which is also Celtic, may be explained in two different ways. Provided that many toponyms in *-dunum* contain personal or imperial names as the first component (e.g., *Augustodunum*, see on *Icacidunum* below), one may consider a set of names in *Lutu-* (*Lutumarus* (cf. Irish *lúthmár* ‘powerful’), *Lutullus*, *Luttius*, etc., see DELAMARRE 2007: 121), most probably cognate with Irish *lúth* ‘motion, strength, power, vigour, joy’. On these grounds Gaulish appellative **luto-* ‘passion, ardeur’ has been reconstructed, and both formally and semantically this reconstruction is unproblematic; see further GPN: 218, DLG: 212, MATASOVIĆ 2009: 250. It is quite feasible, therefore, that the toponym Λουτίδουνον in fact contains this personal name as a first component. A different approach to the treatment of the place-name will be to consider a different component as its first part, namely the similar looking Gaulish word with the meaning ‘swamp’ (cf. OIr *loth* or Latin *lutum*), for which see DCC: 23 and MATASOVIĆ 2009: 249–250. It is well attested in Gaulish toponymy (DCC: 154–5, DELAMARRE 2012: 184–5), and also as the first component of the compounded forms, as in British *Lutudarum*, known from the Ravenna Cosmography (*Lutudaron*, var. *Lutudaton*) and a number of Latin inscriptions, see RIVET – SMITH 1979: 403–4 and cf. DELAMARRE 2012: 185, who takes **Lutu-duron* as its underlying form. It should be stressed out that the Brittonic toponym, perhaps correctly, is treated differently by A. BREEZE (2002), who sees in its first component a cognate of W. *lludw* ‘ashes’, but it does not affect our judgement on the semantics of the Continental Celtic forms. It is ultimately important for the present discussion that the area of Bakov nad Jizerou, with which our Λουτίδουνον is associated, is known for its swampy terrain, and if this localization is in fact correct, the reference to the Gaulish word for ‘swamp’ will uncontroversially explain the first component of the place-name in question.

A different sort of a problem is faced when dealing with two place-names which were also recorded only by Ptolemy, *Eburodunum* (‘Εβουρόδουνον, Ptol. II, 11, 15) and *Eburum* (“Ἐβουρον, var. Ἐβουρον, Ptol. II, 11, 14). It has been long suggested that they refer to one and the same settlement which has been variously identified (cf. RASCH 2005: 49), but is today normally associated with Brno, see a useful summary of attempts of its localization by R. Wenskus in *RGA* 6 (1986), 346. Note also ŘEHÁK – KVĚT 1993: 190 where the former is associated with Oberleiserberg in Austria, and BERTHEAU 2002: 32, where *Eburum* is located

in the area of the Cotini (for which see below) in Slovakia. The linguistic Celticity of *Eburodunum* is beyond any hesitation: we face here a Gaulish compounded form with the plant name *eburo-* (DCC: 18) & **dūno-* ‘fort’, and its exact counterparts are attested in Western Europe, cf. the list presented in DELAMARRE 2012: 148. It is worth of note that in the important manuscripts (for which see now BURRI 2013) of the “Geography” Ω and X the name of *Eburodunum* is given as ‘Πεβούροδοννον’, MÜLLER 1883: 275, STÜCKELBERGER – GRASSHOFF 2006: 234, which offers a different perspective of the analysis of the first component(s) of the compounded toponym, cf. discussion of Gaulish **buro-* and **burro-* in DLG: 94–95, although with such word-division **re-* may remain difficult, but see the discussion of the personal name *Reburus* in FALILEYEV 2007: 117, where further bibliography is quoted.

If in fact the two attestations refer to the same settlement (cf. already MÜLLER 1883: 275), *Eburum* could be seen as a variant and shortened form of *Eburodunum* (cf. RASCH 2005: 167) which for whatever reasons crept in the text of Ptolemy. This of course cannot be explained on the basis of Celtic linguistic studies, and it is also important that *Eburus* is known as a Celtic personal name, SCHWARZ 1961: 39. One may note in relation to the attestation in Ptol. II, 11, 14 that similar-looking simplex forms are attested across Europe and are frequently unrelated; see SIMS-WILLIAMS 2006: 78 on Celtic *Eburo*, DCC: 117 on two difficult *Ebora* from the Iberian Peninsula, DE BERNARDO STEMPPEL 2008a: 187 for *Eburum* in Italy, and SIMS-WILLIAMS 2006: 312 for some general considerations. It is also notable in this respect that according to KLEINEBERG *et al.* 2010: 56, where some other identifications are surveyed, *Eburum* should be associated with Hrádek, or, alternatively, with Prosiměřice, both of which are known for Germanic settlements. It is also remarkable although it could be well coincidental, that at face value the toponym may have a Germanic etymology, cf. Old High German *ebur*, Old English *eofor* ‘boar’, for the semantics cf. *Orcelis* below.

Two more toponyms found in the area are treated as Celtic in the majority of works, but certain observations may cast doubts on their original linguistic Celticity. *Marobudon* (Μαρόβουδον, var. Μαρόβουννον, Ptol. II, 11, 14) has been associated with Upper Malše and later (ŘEHÁK – KVÉT 2002: 50) with Plzeň and is long considered Gaulish, and variants of its interpretation are readily available. P. SIMS-WILLIAMS (2006: 189 and 47–48) admits a possibility of its Celtic origin and tentatively lists the toponym among those which may contain place-name elements *boud-* ‘victory’ (or *bodio-* ‘yellow’). V. BLAŽEK (2010: 30) is sure that it goes back to **māro-* ‘big’ & **buto-* ‘house’, therefore ‘Great house’, adapted

in Western Germanic as **māria-būdōn* ‘famous seat’. According to G. R. ISAAC (2004, s. v. *Maróboudon*), the toponym goes back to **maro-bo(u)do-*, but he does not comment on its linguistic attribution. P. DE BERNARDO STEMPFL (2008a: 187), who thinks that it could be identified with Prague if not with Budweis (České Budějovice, other localizations are reviewed in KLEINEBERG *et al.* 2010: 54–5), translates the toponym as ‘Big settlement’, with the second component either related to G. *budina* ‘troop’, or **butā* ‘residence’¹⁴. The latter interpretation is also found in DELAMARRE 2012: 192, where the place-name is rendered as ‘grande demeure’.

Although Gaulish **māro-* ‘big’ (see DCC: 24) is unproblematically found in personal-name formation, it is normally attested as the second or third component of the compounded forms, as D. E. Ellis observed, “almost without exceptions” (GPN: 224). Scholars admit, however, that the usage of this Gaulish word as the first component in toponymic compounds is also known, and it has also been claimed that it is not attested as a final element, at least in the Celtic toponyms preserved by Ptolemy and Antonine Itinerary, see ISAAC 2004, Celtic Elements s.v. *ma:ro-*. This statement is offered on the basis of the analysis of *Solimariaca*, but in this particular example the **māro-* component is the second part, as expected, of the personal name, from which the toponym is actually derived, cf. DCC: 207. X. DELAMARRE (2012: 191–92) gives a list of place-names with the Celtic name for ‘big’ as the first component, and thus a striking contrast in the morphological models of place-names and personal names may be observed; see also below on the tribal name *Itimari*. At the same time, however, one may pose the question if at least in some of these cases the first component is in fact a corresponding personal name, which is incidentally well-attested in epigraphy, see references in DELAMARRE 2007: 127. It is worth noting in this respect that according to several scholars, e.g., Gerhard RASCH (2005: 167), *Marobudon* indeed contains the anthroponym, the name of the famous Marcomanian king Marbod (for which see SCHUMACHER 2007: 171 with further references), and the place-name is in fact a shortened form of **Marobodu(o)-dunum*. This shortening is at least suspicious, but the possibility that the toponym contains or is built upon a personal name cannot be dismissed. One should also not ignore a possibility that the place-name while meaningful in Celtic is in fact of non-Celtic origin. The second component is apparently found in the onomastic systems of the languages spoken in Eastern

¹⁴ Interestingly, she notes here the place-names *Buda* and *Budalia* in Pannonia, admitting that these have a different etymology. For the latter see the Pannonian analysis in ANREITER 2001: 39–40.

Europe: apart from the evidence quoted by P. De Bernardo Stempel (above) consider also the discussion of *Buteries* and *Butta* in FALILEYEV 2013: 35–36. The first component also finds parallels in the indigenous onomastic landscape (or, probably, landscapes), cf. e.g., ISAAC 2004, s.v. *Marouíggói*. Needless to add here that in the case of non-Celtic origin of the toponym further discussions are senseless due to our ignorance of the language(s) spoken in the area.

A linguistically interesting *Meliodunum* (Μελιόδουννυ, var. Μελγόδουννυ Ptol II, 11, 14) has been identified with Špilberk-Obřany, Soběslav-Veselí nad Lužnicí (ŘEHÁK – KVĚT 1993: 190, 2002: 50) and Pisek (KLEINEBERG *et al.* 2010: 55), and rather vaguely placed in Moravia (BA, Map 13). The toponym has been considered Celtic for a long time, and various interpretations of it are known. It was emended to **Medio-dunum* by R. Much (cf. RASCH 2005: 136), and this emendation, with or without references, is accepted in a number of publications, e.g., SCHWARZ 1931: 17, DLG: 432, BLAŽEK 2010: 30, DELAMARRE 2012: 195. If this reading is to be accepted, the toponym is transparently Celtic, with the first component of the compound being Gaulish **medio-* ‘middle, mid-’ (see DCC: 25), as in the famous *Mediolanum*. However, not all scholars share this ‘Mittelburg’ approach and accept the emendation. Thus, for example, both G. R. ISAAC (2004, Possibly Celtic Elements, s.v. *mel(i)o-*) and P. DE BERNARDO STEMPFL (2008a: 188), although with varying degrees of persistence, refer to Gaulish **meli-* ‘honey’ in order to explain the first component. ‘Honey-town’ does not seem to be a very attractive interpretation from the semantic point of view, unless the settlement was renowned for this agricultural product or its processing, for which we have no evidence. Nevertheless, the attempts to defend the original reading of the toponym are remarkable, and these are further strengthened and enhanced by references to Μελιοδουνειος (DE BERNARDO STEMPFL 2008a: 188), or to *Melianorum novus vicus* (RASCH 2005: 136). The variant spelling Μελγόδουννυ (MÜLLER 1883: 271) may in theory appeal for a reference, say, to Gaulish **melgo-* ‘milk’ (for the Common Celtic form see MATASOVIĆ 2009: 263). However, this ‘Milk-burg’ interpretation is similar to (and perhaps not better than) ‘Honey-town’. Yet in this case we may possibly find some parallels. Thus, for example, one may note interpretations of the first component of the British toponym *Lacto-durum* in RIVET – SMITH 1979: 382–83 (and cf. ISAAC 2004, Possibly Celtic elements for **lacto-*) as a cognate of W. *llaeth* ‘milk’; consider though also the sceptical remarks expressed in DELAMARRE 2012: 170 and cf. DCC: 140–41 for the discussion of the toponym *Lactora*. The cognate is also found in Welsh geographical names, cf. *Cwm y Llaeth*, probably ‘Milk-Valley’

in Pembrokeshire, CHARLES 1992: 150 and 792. In any case, this spelling occurs only in the secondary manuscripts. Generally, it seems fair to follow the traditional rather than emended reading of the toponym, although the exact interpretation of its first part still remains speculative, cf. RASCH 2005: 136, where *inter alia* its connection with the IE colour-name **mel-* (for which cf. IEW: 720) is considered.

Other place-names in the area of the modern Czech Republic which have been considered Celtic by various scholars present a mixture of different difficulties, which generally offer sufficient counter-arguments against their Gaulish linguistic attribution. In theory, each of them may be analysed as Celtic, but at the same time there cannot be any certainty in the correctness of their Gaulish affiliation. Still this evidence should not be neglected, and the discussion of this set of data below follows an alphabetic arrangement.

The toponym *Aregelia* is very often identified with modern Teplice / Teplice-Zabrušany, and there are several La Tène settlements in this area (VENCLOVÁ *et al.* 2008b: 16–19). It is attested only in Ptolemy (Αρεγελία, Ptol. II, 11, 13) with a number of variant spellings (e.g., Ἀργελία, Ἀρελατία) in various manuscripts conveniently collected in MÜLLER 1883: 270, cf. STÜCKELBERGER – GRASSHOFF 2006: 232. One may note also the discussion of them in ISAAC 2004, Commentary ad *Argelia*, where it is suggested that

“as in most cases, it is probably best to uphold the majority reading. However, it may be noted that both the XZO reading of the prefix {*Are-*} (with possibly archaic *are-* > for syncopated *ar-*) and the X reading {*Areletía*} (perhaps showing a lexeme *-let-*, of indeterminate nature) are linguistically plausible. But X, at least, has possibly been influenced by well-known LNN of the type *Arelate*”.

Isaac segments the toponym into **are-gelo-ia-*, but does not offer any further linguistic commentary on the whole form. He admits, however, that **gelo-* in *Argelia*, *Gé:laka*, *Gélo:nes* may well be related to OIr *gel* ‘shining, bright’ < **gʰel-*, but aptly notes that “whether that is what is seen in the names cited is a possibility only” (ISAAC 2004, Possibly Celtic elements, s.v. *gelo-*). This possibility was apparently taken for a reality by V. BLAŽEK (2010: 28), who interprets the place-name as Celtic, **arei-geliā* ‘by white (river)’. Indeed, such a model is attested in Gaulish toponymy (cf. e.g., the ancient name of Vieux in France *Argenoua*, DCC: 54), but there cannot be any certainty that this particular etymology is correct, cf. in this respect various possibilities discussed in the analysis of the

formally similar *Arcuna* (FALILEYEV 2013: 11–13). It is also worth noting that the *gel* formant may be indeed Celtic (cf. *comparanda* in DELAMARRE 2012: 156), but a possibility that we are dealing here with a hybrid formation cannot be ruled out. The strongest objection, however, may be caused by a reference to the morphological division of the toponym, which cannot but remind us formally of the “Paleobalkan” *Argela* and similar forms attested beyond the Balkans, for which see FALILEYEV 2005: 55–56 with further references. It should be also kept in mind that the localization of the toponym within the territory of modern Czech Republic is disputable: Leipzig and other places in Germany are also named in this respect, see the survey in KLEINEBERG *et al.* 2010: 49.

Arsonion is identified with Ostrava-Svinov in ŘEHÁK – KVĚT 1993: 190 (cf. also ŘEHÁK – KVĚT 2002: 52), but with Opole in ŠIMEK 1949: 116–17 and is recorded only by Ptolemy with variant spellings (II, 11, 13 Ἀρσόνιον, var. Ἀρσύνιον). There are several linguistic attribution of this place-name already available (see RASCH 2005: 19 and 175 and cf. ZAWADZKI 2009: 138), to which X. DELAMARRE (2012: 61–62) has recently added a Celtic one. According to this author, the toponym goes back to an unattested Celtic personal name **Ar-sōnios*. This approach does not seem to be justified, since that there is no fixation of the spelling variant with *o*-mega in the Ptolomaic corpus (MÜLLER 1883: 271). As there cannot be any certainty at all that this place-name is indeed Celtic, the possibility that it may have been coined in another language spoken in the area should not be dismissed. On balance it seems to be rather non-Celtic, at least until the personal name *Arsonios vel sim.* is found in the “Celtic West”. Note that some scholars are in favour its location beyond Czech borders, e.g., KLEINEBERG *et al.* 2010: 50 where Ostrzeszów in Poland is suggested.

The difficult Ἀσάκκα (“Ασάνκα, Ὀσάνδα, see MÜLLER 1883: 274 and STÜCKELBERGER – GRASSHOFF 2006: 234) is recorded by Ptolemy (II, 11, 14), and associated with Jeseníky Mountain, Olomouc, and later with Uherské Hradiště (ŘEHÁK – KVĚT 2002: 52). It is to be associated with Kojetín in Moravia according to KLEINEBERG *et al.* 2010: 57, although earlier scholarship used to locate it in the territory of modern Poland, see references in KOLEND 2009–2010: 78 and cf. BERTHEAU 2002: 32. The place-name is Celtic for V. BLAŽEK (2010: 28), who derives it from **asnakā* in view of Old Irish *asnach* ‘flank walls’, to *asna* ‘rib’. This is not very evident at all; cf. scepticism in regard of the analysis and linguistic attribution of the toponym expressed by G. R. ISAAC (2004, ad *Aságka*); for its reading see references in RASCH 2005: 78, ISAAC 2004, Commentary. Therefore it is rather safe to exclude this item from the discussion of the linguistic Celticity

of the area at all, unless new uncontroversial attestation(s) come into being. This is of course true also for non-Celtic studies of the toponym, for which see SCHWARZ 1961: 9 (where derivation in -(e)nko- is considered), DOBIÁŠ 1964: 13 and a useful survey in RASCH 2005: 215 s.v. *Osanda*. Needless perhaps to add, its connection with the modern Romanian geographical name *Ozinka* (BILEȚCHI-ALBESCU 1928: 206) is totally arbitrary and should be neglected.

Hegetmatia was associated with a ford across the middle stream of Sázava or with Kouřim located 45 km east of Prague (ŘEHÁK – KVĚT 1993: 190), and with Ohnišťany or Jičín in Hradec Králové Region (KLEINEBERG *et al.* 2010: 55), while BA Map 12 leaves it unlocated. The toponym is derived by V. BLAŽEK (2010: 29) from the Celtic **Segeta-matia*, with the second component known in continental Celtic place-name formation (see DCC: 25) and the divine name *Segeta* attested in the inscriptions. The semantic aspect of this proposal is troublesome, as well as the development of the initial **s-* > *h-* of the first component. To explain the latter Blažek refers to Εγονται, the special breed of dogs which was connected by Arrian with the *Segusavii*. This is, however, a most probably a wrong explanation, see already POKORNY 1948–9: 254–55 and cf. STIFTER 2012: 529. It may be noted in parenthesis that both G. R. ISAAC (2004, s.v.) and P. DE BERNARDO STEMPERL (2008a: 192) leave the toponym unexplained and in no way express their favour for its Celtic linguistic attribution; the latter scholar even notes its similarity with Dacian (? – A.F.) *Aegeta* and *Aegyssus*. The uncertainty in the discussion of this particular toponym is rooted in the peculiarity of its attestation: the toponym is found only in the “Geography” of Ptolemy (II, 11, 14) in several contradictory spellings, see MÜLLER 1883: 273. It should be noted that modern scholarship takes ‘Ηγιτματία as the basic spelling, while the variant underlying a possible ‘Ιλιτματία is also being considered, RASCH 2005: 59 and STÜCKELBERGER – GRASSHOFF 2006: 232. On balance, the linguistic Celticity of this toponym is very unlikely. It should also be noted that the place-name is located by other scholars (e.g., BERTHEAU 2002: 38) beyond the modern Czech borders, on the river Weser.

Similarly, *Kalaigia*, which is found only in Ptolemy (II, 11, 13) and was associated with the mouth of the river Bílina or, later (ŘEHÁK – KVĚT 2002: 51), with Ústí nad Labem, is attested in several spellings, MÜLLER 1883: 270. Nowadays the consensus is in favour of Καλαιγία rather than Γαλαιγία advocated by Müller, cf. RASCH 2005: 36 and see now STÜCKELBERGER – GRASSHOFF 2006: 232. V. BLAŽEK (2010: 29) hesitates whether it could be compared with *Calaica* attested in the VII c. AD and listed by Holder as Celtic. G. R. ISAAC (2004, s.v.

Kalaigia) analyses the toponym as **calo-* & *aiga-*, but does not comment on it and in any event suspects its linguistic Celticity. It should be noted that the name has been considered “Illyrian” in earlier scholarship, RASCH 2005: 213. Illyrian or not (cf. FALILEYEV 2007a: 243), it is more likely that the toponym is indigenous and at any rate it is difficult, if possible at all, to insist on its linguistic Celticity. Note that according to J. BERTHEAU (2002: 37) the toponym should be located in the western part of Germany. Other localizations, also in Germany, are surveyed in KLEINEBERG *et al.* 2010: 49.

Leukaristos, attested only in the same section of Ptolemy’s “Geography” (II, 11, 13 Λευκάριστος MÜLLER 1883: 271, STÜCKELBERGER – GRASSHOFF 2006: 232) was associated with Staré Hradisko near Prostějov (ŘEHÁK – KVĚT 1993: 190). J. BERTHEAU (2002: 38) even locates it by the river Loknitz in Germany, and sites in Poland have been suggested as well, KLEINEBERG *et al.* 2010: 50. Traditionally, however, the settlement is associated with modern Trenčín in western Slovakia (Váh river valley) beyond the borders of Czech Republic, and this place-name will be discussed below.

The place-name *Nomisterion*, also attested only in Ptolemy (II, 11, 14, Νομιστήριον, var. Νομιστίριον, MÜLLER 1883: 273 and STÜCKELBERGER – GRASSHOFF 2006: 232) was identified with Zalužany and later (ŘEHÁK – KVĚT 2002: 50) with the oppidum Závist in Praha-Zbraslav. Litoměřice (60 km north of Prague) is suggested in KLEINEBERG *et al.* 2010: 55. The toponym is associated with Willebadessen in North Rhine-Westphalia, Germany, in BERTHEAU 2002: 39 and has been analysed in various ways in the history of scholarship: see references in RASCH 2005: 76 and add ISAAC 2004, commentary ad *Nomisté:rion* where it is admitted that “the name has a general Latin or Greek shape about it, without being clear exactly what it might represent in either of those languages”. For V. BLAŽEK (2010: 30), however, the name is Celtic. This scholar suggests its derivation from Gaulish **nomi-stērio-* ‘temple of the (goddess) star’ in view of OW gloss *nom* gl. *templa* and the Gaulish divinity *Sirona*. This poetic etymology is nevertheless problematic. The name of the Gaulish deity, which is found with various spellings of the initial consonant, *S-*, *D-* and *Th-*, is known from inscriptions throughout the Gaulish-speaking world, and the eastern European territories are no exception, see FALILEYEV 2007: 130–131. The first part of the suggested compound is far more problematic, and there is no certainty that Old Welsh *nom* in fact denotes ‘temple’, see EGOW: 120–122 with further references. Even so, the compound does not find a match among the morphological patterns known for Gaulish place-names, if Delamarre’s derivation of *Cessero* (modern Saint-Tibéry in

France) from a putative **Ci-stero-n-* or *Ci-dero-n-*, which he explains as “forme toponymique animée en nasale faite sur un théon. **Ci-stero-*, cf. la déesse *Sirona, Dirona*” (DELAMARRE 2012: 113) is not taken into consideration; cf. scepticism expressed in DCC: 98.

To analyse the place-name *Nomisterion* one may also refer to a difficult **stero-* / **storo-* attested in place-name formation, which is in certain cases considered Celtic by various scholars, for example, X. DELAMARRE (2012: 208); this author compares *Nomi-ster-io* with *Segu-steron* and *Duro-storon*, admitting, however, that the toponym is obscure. As the present author is of opinion that in Eastern Europe this formant is not Celtic (see FALILEYEV 2007: 12–13 where earlier literature is cited), this argument may in fact be used against the linguistic Celticity of *Nomisterion*. Reservations about its Celtic linguistic attribution were also expressed recently by P. DE BERNARDO STEMPEL (2008a: 192), who noted in this respect *Νομίστρων* in Lucania; the same parallel is considered also in earlier literature (cf. SCHWARZ 1961: 9 and RASCH 2005: 177) and could not play a part in the discussion of the linguistic affiliation of the toponym in question, which will remain enigmatic and may be well non-Celtic as was seen in earlier scholarship, see references in DOBIÁŠ 1964: 12.

Redintunion which was associated with Brendys, Trisov and Přešťovice but is identified as Stradonice in ŘEHÁK – KVĚT 1993: 190 and ŘEHÁK – KVĚT 2002: 51, or Louny in KLEINEBERG *et al.* 2010: 55, has been long considered Celtic. Already A. Holder (II: 1102) interpreted the place-name as **Rēdī-dūno-n* ‘town of *Rēdis* or *Rēdio-s*’. In a similar vein, other scholars saw in this toponym a compounded Celtic form with the second component so well represented in the Gaulish toponymic landscape. Thus E. SCHWARZ (1931: 17) suggested **rēdio-dūnon* ‘fort of riders’, and this idea was elaborated in BLAŽEK 2010: 31 who explains *-t-* as the result of Germanization. The true crux here is the real form of the place-name recorded only in Ptolemy’s “Geography” (II, 11, 14), ‘Ρεδιντούινον, var. ‘Ρεδινγούινον (MÜLLER 1883: 273 and STÜCKELBERGER – GRASSHOFF 2006: 232), and it is difficult not to agree with P. DE BERNARDO STEMPEL (2008a: 192) that there cannot be any certainty that the form in fact conceals Celtic **dūno-n*. There exist several attempts to explain the place-name, see RASCH 2005: 163 with further references and ISAAC 2004, s. v. *Rhedintoúinon*, but in any event there are no solid grounds to consider it Celtic.

A similar difficulty presents itself in the analysis of Σετουάκωτον (Ptol. II, 11, 15), which is traditionally associated with Bavaria (Cham / Freudenberg in the earlier literature, more recently Treuchtlingen, KLEINEBERG *et al.* 2010: 58), but

is thought to be located near Domažlice in the Czech Republic (ŘEHÁK – KVĚT 2002: 51). This localization is accepted by V. BLAŽEK (2010: 31), who, apparently following the authority of Holder (II: 1451), takes it for **Sego-vacōto-n* (in view of the famous Celtic **sego-* ‘victory’) and considers the place-name Celtic. However, as far as I am aware, we do not have a single variant reading with Σεγο-, and although a confusion of τ and γ by the copyists cannot be precluded (cf. DCC: 203 s.v. *Setius M.*), there is no necessity at all to manipulate the linguistic data. It can be, however, manipulated in a different way, without the attempted emendation of the source. *Setu-* seems to be attested in Gaulish, although its interpretation varies, see KGP: 268, ISAAC 2004, Possibly Celtic Elements s.v. *seto-*, *setio-*. It is worth noting in this respect that P. DE BERNARDO STEMPPEL (2008a: 189) finds this element in a place-name Σετούία which is associated sometimes also with the territory of the Czech Republic (Komořany and Měnín in South Moravia are named in this respect, see KLEINEBERG *et al.* 2010: 56), but sometimes located in modern Slovakia. This was analysed as Celtic by X. DELAMARRE (2012: 238), who suggests, although with a question mark, its derivation from a personal name *Setus*, which he also detects in Σετουάκωτον. If Σετουάκωτον is a compound, for the second component cf. a difficult Gaulish **uaco-*, for which see DLG: 305; in this case it could be viewed as a *-to-* derivative. According to DELAMARRE (2012: 237), however, this component may be interpreted as *-ácōto-* for **-ākuto-*, which is not altogether clear for me. In any event, there cannot be any certainty that the place-name is indeed Celtic, cf. ISAAC 2004, s.v. *Setouáko:ton* and particularly RASCH 2005: 219 for a comparison with Lat. *Septemiacum*, therefore any manipulation of the data cannot be justified. For various approaches to the analysis of Σετούία including its various linguistic attributions, and particularly ‘Illyrian’ (cf. *Setovia* in Dalmatia), see a very useful bibliography in RASCH 2005: 91 and 182, cf. KLEINEBERG *et al.* 2010: 56.

Two place-names in *st-* from the modern Czech Republic considered by V. BLAŽEK (2010: 31) as Celtic also remain difficult. The scholar suggests that *Stragona* (Ptol. II, 11, 13, modern Poděbrady or its vicinity according to ŘEHÁK – KVĚT 2002: 51, but a most eastern town in Germany, Görlitz, according to KLEINEBERG *et al.* 2010: 50) should be derived from Celtic **stratonā* which also yielded Welsh *ystrad* ‘valley’, while *Streuvintia* (Staré Hradisko, Velký Blaník and Hřiměždice have been offered as its localisation, in ŘEHÁK – KVĚT 1993: 190, KLEINEBERG *et al.* 2010: 55, cf. BA, map 13 for its rough localization in Moravia) is to be compared with Old Breton *strouis* ‘I covered’. The first of the comparisons should be excluded from the start, as the spelling of the place-name

is constantly Στράγονα (MÜLLER 1883: 270, cf. STÜCKELBERGER – GRASSHOFF 2006: 232). One may also note that the insular Celtic *comparanda* has been sometimes considered to be Latin borrowings, although their PIE heritage is now commonly accepted, see SCHRIJVER 1995: 178 and 453, MATASOVIĆ 2009: 357. As for its etymology and linguistic attribution, various suggestions are known, see e.g., SCHWARZ 1961: 8 or DOBIÁŠ 1964: 12, and a useful bibliographic survey in RASCH 2005: 92. The second place-name which is found in the next section of the “Geography”, Στρευοίντα (var. Στρευοιντία, STÜCKELBERGER – GRASSHOFF 2006: 222) is, as the earlier scholarship has shown, more likely to be non-Celtic, cf. RASCH 2005: 175–76, and such an approach allows us to escape a number of difficulties, including morphological ones, which necessarily arise if the toponym is treated as Gaulish. It may be also noted in this respect that the Insular Celtic forms considered here by Blažek agree in their meanings, ‘to strew’, cf. here also Lat. *struere*, see SCHRIJVER 1995: 453, and therefore the Celtic approach to the toponym is faulty from the semantic point of view as well. The fact that Velký Blaník is known for a Hallstatt site of course cannot be used as a persuasive argument in favour of the linguistic Celticity of the corresponding geographical name. For a North-Westfalian localization of this toponym see BERTHEAU 2002: 39, where it is also traced to the earlier and unattested **Scadrona*.

Three more place-names, which are sometimes considered Celtic, may be discussed together, as at face value they exhibit remarkable formal similarity. This resemblance may of course turn into illusion, as the example with *Berlin* / *Dublin* teaches us, and, interestingly, various authors have indeed morphologically segmented them in different ways. The three toponyms, which are attested only in the “Geography” by Ptolemy are *Koridorgis* associated with Vitorazsko and later Ševětín (ŘEHÁK – KVĚT 2002: 51) or Jihlava (KLEINEBERG *et al.* 2010: 59), *Kasurgis* (Rataje nad Sázavou in ŘEHÁK – KVĚT 2002: 51, but Hostyn in BERTHEAU 2002: 18 and Prague in KLEINEBERG *et al.* 2010: 55) and *Boudorgis*, which is variously identified in academic literature. Barrington Atlas sees in it Uherské Hradiště (BA), MÜLLER (1883: 273) and G. R. ISAAC (2004, s.v. *Boudorgis*) – Pardubice, while other identifications include Kladsko and Hradec Králové, see further BLAŽEK 2010: 28, and also Kolin (KLEINEBERG *et al.* 2010: 56) and the area of Krnov (BERTHEAU 2002: 18) have been considered. In the earlier literature the Ptolomaic place-name has been also associated with modern Wrocław in Poland, see references in KOLENDO 2009–2010: 78. According to ŘEHÁK – KVĚT (1993: 190), this toponym should be identified with Čáslav - Ronov nad Doubravou, and Hradec Králové is the place of the ancient *Budorigon*

ŘEHÁK – KVĚT 2002: 51. The latter is most definitely Celtic, see the discussion offered above, but note its different localization in BERTHEAU 2002: 37 and particularly KLEINEBERG *et al.* 2010: 50, where Głogów in Poland is named as a candidate for identification. Notwithstanding that all of the other toponyms listed here show the final $-{}^o/_u rgis$, they have been analysed variously in the history of scholarship.

Ptolemaic *Boudorgis* (Ptol. II, 11, 14 Βουδοργίς, var. Βουδουργίς in the secondary manuscripts, MÜLLER 1883: 273) has been long analysed as “Illyrian”, cf. RASCH 2005: 142, and is traditionally segmented as Βου-δοργίς; for the theory that this toponym is reflected in the modern Polish geographical name *Będargowo* and its critical evaluation see BABIK 2001: 346–47. The place-name *Boudorgis*, however, has also been considered Celtic, and traced to an earlier **boudo-rīgo-*; see RASCH 2005: 141, BLAŽEK 2010: 28 and a still more elaborate analysis in DE BERNARDO STEMPPEL 2008a: 189; note also Βουδοργίς (Ptol. II, 11, 14), identified with Büderich am Rhein, which as was supposed (cf. RASCH 2005: 142), also contains Celtic **boudo-*. One may also remark in this respect that G. R. ISAAC (2004, s.v. *Boudorgis*) segments the toponym as **boudo-* & *orgi-*, but does not offer any comment on the form or its linguistic attribution. This word division is accepted in DELAMARRE 2012: 84, who overtly identifies the first component with G. *boudo-* ‘victory’ or **būto-*, and sees in the second component a reflex of **org-* as in *Orgetorix*. Accordingly, he suggests that the place-name recorded by Ptolemy conceals a corresponding Gaulish personal name which he interprets as ‘Tueur de Victoire’ or ‘Qui Tue pour le Butin’. For the difficult **boud-* in geographical names, which is not necessarily Celtic in all cases, see SIMS-WILLIAMS 2011: 279 with further references.

The latter element with this word-division at least reminds of that in *Koridorgis* and accounts for both variants of its spelling (Ptol. II, 11, 15 Κοριδοργίς, var. Κονδοργίς MÜLLER 1883: 275, cf. STÜCKELBERGER – GRASSHOFF 2006: 234, cf. also DELAMARRE 2012: 121 who takes the variant spelling for the original). The other possibility which may suit the analysis of both geographical names would be to consider here *-*dorgis*. The latter morphological analysis is accepted by V. BLAŽEK (2010: 28), who explains the toponym as Celtic. The Czech scholar sees in it a compound, the first part of which is represented by G. *corio-* ‘troop’, and the second – a cognate of Breton *derchell* ‘to keep’, therefore ‘kept by the army’. The Gaulish *corio-* is of course well known and indeed occurs in place-names, see DCC: 16 and 108, and it is Blažek’s interpretation of the second component to say nothing about the entire word, formally and semantically, which makes the

Celtic analysis of it totally unlikely. Breton *derc 'hel* is a cognate of Welsh *dalaf* ‘to capture’ (SCHRIJVER 1995: 142–43), and its Gaulish counterpart *delgu* (DLG: 139, cf. MATASOVIĆ 2009: 94) is absolutely incompatible with the suggested *-dorg-* of the toponym. It seems that a pleiad of scholars – from A. Holder to G. R. ISAAC (2004, s.v. *Koridorgis*) – was completely correct in considering the toponym non-Celtic: the former by the fact of its non-inclusion into the corpus, the latter by leaving it unexplained.

The two place-names, *Boudorgis* and *Koridorgis*, were considered together by E. SCHWARZ (1961: 9), who was of opinion that both of them contained the component **dorgis* < IE **dorǵʰ-*. In doing this he follows a tradition, which sees an Illyrian word in this component, see e.g., KRAHE 1946: 217 with further references¹⁵. This suggestion cannot be proved, and in fact the component, or rather a sequence, *-^{o/}_urgis* may possibly also be detected in the difficult *Kasurgis* (Κασούργις Ptol. II, 11, 14), which has been considered Celtic by various scholars. Thus, A. Holder (I: 837) included this place-name into his compendium although with a question mark and without any further comments. V. BLAŽEK (2010: 29) was more confident in its Celtic attribution and suggested seeing in it **casso-uorg-* ‘built from the twisted [walls]’ in view of Old Irish *casaid* ‘twist, bend’ and *do(f)aireci* (*do-farcaí*) ‘towers over, surpasses’. The former of course is compatible with a reconstructed Gaulish **cass-* (for which see MATASOVIĆ 2009: 194), but the latter, the Irish compound (< **to-for-ad-cí* to *ad-cí* ‘to see’), is certainly irrelevant here. Note that P. DE BERNARDO STEMPPEL (2008a: 192), who is in favour of the reading Κασυργίς, is not sure about its linguistic Celticity and denies its connection with the *i*-stem *cassi-*, while G. R. ISAAC (2004, s.v. *Kasourgís*) does not comment on the form at all, apart from suggesting the morphonological division as *cas(u)-* & *urgi-*. For a survey of the earlier literature on the problem see also RASCH 2005: 213. Generally speaking, provided that there are no undisputable Celtic etymologies for *Koridorgis*, *Kasurgis* and *Boudorgis* (and *Budoris*) it will be erroneous to consider them Gaulish. At the same time, notwithstanding the visual structural uniformity of these place-names, there cannot be any certainty that they should be analysed as containing the component *-^{o/}_urgis*. One may also note Ptolemaic Βικούργιον (II, 11, 14) which at face value at least reminds of the discussed formations; for the localization of which – Jena, Erfurt and southwestern Thuringia have been suggested – see the

¹⁵ This component has been also suggested in the identification of the second part of *Conistorgis* (southern Portugal) by A. Tovar; for a survey of modern analysis of the toponym see CURCHIN 2007: 140.

survey in KLEINEBERG *et al.* 2010: 54. According to G. R. ISAAC (2004, s.v.), the toponym contains the component **urgo-*, which is not discussed elsewhere in this publication. His verdict on its possible linguistic Celticity is found in his commentary to this attestation:

“There must be at least a suspicion that this form stands for *{*Bitoúrgion*}, cf. {*Bitourgia*} III,1,48 (Tuscany), which De Bernardo Stempel derives from *{*Bitourigia*}, in *Ptolemy* 92. Both would be based on *{*bitu-ri:g-*}, seen in the Gaulish EN *Bituriges*. ”

Isaac (*op. cit.*, s.v. *Toulisoúrgion*) considers a similar-looking **urgi-* in his analysis of Τιλισούργιον (Ptol. II, 11, 13) which he segments as **tuli-iso-urgi-io-*. The place-name, long associated with modern Braunschweig in Germany (KLEINEBERG *et al.* 2010: 47–48) has been a subject for several emendations, *Tuliburgium* being accepted by many scholars (cf. RASCH 2005: 159). Therefore the discussed component (cf. other place-names with *-burgium* as a second component recorded by Ptolemy, e.g., *Asciburgium* or *Laciburgium*) is probably not found in this toponym. One should perhaps also consider here the river name *Bisurgis* / *Visurgis* (modern Weser) recorded already by Tacitus and which probably reflects the PIE stem **ueis-* ‘fließen, zerfließen’. It has been argued that it is its genitive form **Wisurijōs* which is reflected in the earliest attestations, see J. Udolph in *RGA* 33 (2006), 492. Ptolomaic Σκοῦργον (II, 11, 12) is totally unlikely to belong here as well. Therefore, it will be fair to admit that we may well be dealing here in fact with sequences of heterogenous origins. Our lack of positive knowledge about the languages spoken in antiquity in the area makes further linguistic search senseless, and it is probable that the best way out of this situation will be just to proclaim them, at least for the time being, non-Celtic without further specifications.

Just over the border in Germany the town of Zittau was associated by R. ŘEHÁK – S. KVĚT (1993: 190 and 2002: 52) with Ptolomaic Κολάγκωρον (II, 11, 13, see MÜLLER 1883: 270 where further variants of the place-name are provided). Most recently X. DELAMARRE (2012: 117) suggested deriving this toponym from the Celtic personal name **Colancoros*, which he analysis as **Co-lanco-ro-* ‘Co-lancier’. The anthroponym is not attested, its morphological analysis may cause questions, and the place-name, sometimes considered “Illyrian”, still remains rather unclear, cf. ISAAC 2004 s.v. *Kolágkoron* and particularly RASCH 2005: 43 and 215, where it admitted that the place-name is corrupted and may

conceal a Latin genitive plural form. One may also note that various locations of the corresponding settlement have been suggested in Poland, cf. e.g. in Silesia (Isaac, *loc.cit.*) or Kostzry in Greater Poland (KLEINEBERG *et al.* 2010: 49). As the place-name is most probably not Celtic in origins, its exact localization is not important for the present discussion. Further north we admittedly find Οὐιρίτιον, var. Οὐιρούτιον etc., Ptol. II, 11, 12, see MÜLLER 1883: 267) which is long associated with modern Wriezen in Germany (Brandenburg), and which X. DELAMARRE (2012: 273) traces to a Celtic personal name *Viritius*. There could be other possibilities of its Celtic analysis, for example in conjunction with Celt. **uiro-* (cf. ISAAC 2004 s.v. *Ouirítion*), or as a compounded form with *ritu-* ‘ford’ as its second component. It should be stressed that the toponym has been long considered to be corrupted and several emendations have been suggested, see references in RASH 2005: 214. At face value, however, the Celticity of the place-name makes sense and what is remarkable that it did survive into modern onomastic landscape. However, modern scholarship has shown that the settlement should be located rather in a more south-eastern direction and may well have a Germanic etymology, see H. Reichert in *RGA* 22 (2003), 411–412; for its association with modern Człopa in West Pomerania (Poland) see KLEINEBERG *et al.* 2010: 44. Therefore this place-name probably should be excluded from the present discussion.

III. Further South, East and North

North of the Modern Czech Republic: Poland

Having surveyed the linguistic Celtness of the territory which is now Czech Republic it seems now reasonable to move to the vast areas north to it, which is nowadays Poland. The archaeological remains of this country which are traditionally associated with Celtic presence have been studied for a long time. In the latter part of the last century a lot of work was done in this field, which resulted *inter alia* in the publication of the monograph by Professor Zenon WOŹNIAK (1970), which summarized the fruits of the research of generations of scholars. More work has been done ever since the publication of this fundamental volume, cf. e.g., OLĘDZKI 2005 or BOCHNAK 2007, and generally “Celtic archaeology” in Poland, to use the traditional term, is flourishing: new artifacts are being unearthed and fresh interpretations are being offered.

For our purposes, however, it is the linguistic data which matters, and this data is considerably restricted. Indeed, our knowledge of the Celtic geographical names is provided only by two sources, “Germania” by Tacitus and “Geography” by Ptolemy¹⁶, and neither of these two authors explicitly mentions the presence of “Celts” in the area. As noted above, medieval and early modern sources are not helpful in detecting Celtic traces in the toponymic landscape of Poland. Therefore, the key passage for the treatment of linguistic Celtness of Poland remains the following fragment from Tacitus (*Germania* 43),

Suebiam continuum montium iugum, ultra quod plurimae gentes agunt, ex quibus latissime patet Lugiorum nomen in plures civitates diffusum. valentissimas nominasse sufficiet: Harios Helveconas Manimos Helysios Nahanarvalos

“Suebia, in fact, is cut in two down the middle by an unbroken range of mountains, beyond which live a multitude of tribes, of whom the Lugii are the mostly widely spread, being divided into a number of

¹⁶ Ptolemaic evidence is quoted in this section following STÜCKELBERGER – GRASSHOFF 2006: 229–233; MÜLLER 1883: 261–270 was consulted.

smaller units. I need only give the names of the most powerful: the Harii, Helvecones, Manimi, Helsii, and Naharvali”.

This *Lugiorum nomen* (cf. *nomen Latinum*, *nomen Etruscorum*, etc., cf. Strabo VII, 1,2 Λού[γ]ιοι, μέγας ἔθνος), that is a tribal union, is crucial for the present discussion. The nature of this apparently mixed ethnic entity and certain chronological issues related to it have been studied, albeit with important variations, by several authorities. Notwithstanding the fact that some scholars, past and present, are of the opinion that the ethnic name *Lugii* is of Germanic origin (see e.g., RÜBEKEIL 1992: 154 with further bibliography and cf., e.g., Zosim. 1, 67, 3 Λογγίωνας ἔθνος Γερμανικόν), it is most likely to be Celtic, as has been shown by Professor Anders Ahlqvist in his two important publications, e. g., AHLQVIST 1976. Several years ago I revisited this subject (FALILEYEV 2009 and cf. FALILEYEV 2010a), and the interested reader may consult this publication, which contains further bibliography, cf. also SITZMANN – GRÜNZWEIG 2008: 199–201. As for the historical aspect of the problem, it should be recalled that Silesia, where modern scholarship locates the tribes of *Lugiorum nomen*, is indeed marked for its La Tène archaeological heritage, see a comprehensive discussion in WOŹNIAK 1970: 40–104, and also WITCZAK 1997, OLĘDZKI 2005: 137–147, BOCHNAK 2007: 26–30. The association of the area, although without precise borders, with the *Lugii* is indisputable and accepted by the majority of scholars. It is also suggested (see BOCHNAK 2007: 32 where further references are provided) that

“L’étendue du territoire occupé par les *Lugii* correspond en principe au terrain de la culture de Przeworsk, délimité par les archéologues. Aussi bien Tacite que Ptolémée ont souligné le fait de l’hétérogénéité des *Lugii*, énumérant plusieurs groupes identifiées parmi ce peuple.”

Leaving the archaeological debate to archaeologists, it should be noted right from the start that the purely linguistic aspect of the question is not entirely transparent. Although the Gaulish origin of the tribal name has been advocated by many researches, there seems to be no consensus in regard of its exact etymology, and, moreover, most of the suggestions expressed in the scholarly publications remain relevant for the analysis of *Lugii*. Indeed, it is impossible to deny the possibility of its connection with the Celtic divine name *Lugus* (which is an *u*-stem), advocated by several scholars (e.g., DE BERNARDO

STEMPEL 2008: 102), although certain difficulties in this derivation have been noted, see AHLQVIST 1976: 144–5. A different and also likely option is to see in it a reflex of a Gaulish word for ‘oath’ (related to Ir. *luige* ‘swearing, oath’, an *io*-stem), cf. already Holder II: 306, “*Lug-ii* ‘eidgenoßen’” and see further on this point G. Neumann in *RGA* 19 (2001), 31–32. This approach at least seems to be semantically quite relevant for explanation of an umbrella-name of a tribal union, *Lugiorum nomen*. The third possibility, advocated by A. AHLQVIST (1976) and which found support among a number of Celtic scholars, derives *Lugii* from Gaulish **lugo-* ‘black, dark’ (and hence, possibly, ‘raven’), cf. Ir. *loch*. The obvious problem with this derivation is that colour-names are not frequent in early Celtic ethnic-name formation. They are known, of course, in other language traditions of tribal-name coinage, as for example, in Germanic, and also in those of *Lugiorum nomen* – the ethnic name *Helveconae*, for which see below, has been traced to Germanic **elwa-* ‘yellow’, see, e.g., MUCH 1959: 379. It is also known in Turkic languages, where, incidentally, the colour-name ‘black’ normally refers to the north, but Celtic linguistic parallels are not self-evident. Thus, for example, in Welsh hydronymic nomenclature *du* ‘black, dark’ is applied to the eastern river or stream, while *gwen* ‘white’ – to the western, cf. CHARLES 1992: 7, which may be different in other cultures, see e.g. the discussion of ‘white’ and ‘black’ river names by G. HOLZER (2008: 9–30). The *Lugii* are of course one of the eastern tribes, but this simplistic notional transposition from Early Modern Wales to the Eastern Gaulish antiquities may be and indeed probably is perfectly erroneous. Of course, a possibility should be considered that the ethnic name may be related to the physical appearance of the corresponding group; compare in this respect the meaning ‘the fair ones’ ascribed to several Celtic tribal names, see DE BERNARDO STEMPEL 2008: 110. As those names, as P. De Bernardo Stempel notes, are normally imposed by neighbours, one may even speculate that the neighbours of the *Lugii* were fairer peoples, also taking into account that the anthropologists reconstruct individuals with Mediterranean looks in the inhumations not far from the area, see references above.

As was suggested in FALILEYEV 2009, the ‘black’ explanation of the ethnic name *Lugii* is possibly provided, or, rather, hinted at by Tacitus himself. In the forty-third chapter of his “*Germania*” this renowned author offers the following description of the “superior” tribe belonging to the *nomen Lugiorum*:

ceterum Harii super vires, quibus enumeratos paulo ante populos antecedunt, truces insitae feritati arte ac tempore lenocinantur:

*nigra scuta, tincta corpora; atras ad proelia noctes legunt ipsaque
formidine atque umbra feralis exercitus terrorem inferunt, nullo
hostium sustinente novum ac velut infernum aspectum; nam primi in
omnibus proeliis oculi vincuntur.*

“As for the Harii, not only are they superior in strength to the other peoples I have just mentioned, but they minister to their savage instincts by trickery and clever timing. They black their shields and dye their bodies, and choose pitch dark nights for their battles. The shadowy, awe-inspiring appearance of such a ghoulish army inspires mortal panic; for no enemy can endure a sight so strange and hellish. Defeat in battle starts always with the eyes”.

The conspicuous “darkness” of this passage has been noted, and there are several explanations of this fragment available. Historians have argued that the information provided by Tacitus in respect of the realities mentioned here is difficult to accept: thus, commenting on *nigra scuta* R. MUCH (1952: 382) notes that “Schwarz ist eine bei Schilden sonst unerhörte Farbe”. Therefore the “black flavour” of the passage has been considered by the textual critics as a purely stylistic device (see references in FALILEYEV 2009), but it seems not impossible that this was in fact the pun on the meaning of the *nomen Lugiorum*, if it is connected, even by a folk etymology, with the Gaulish appellative for ‘black’. The origin and reasons for this pun are impossible to trace: it may have been invented by the author himself, agrees with what we know about his style, by his informant or it may have been popular among the people of *nomen Lugiorum* or indeed their neighbours. It is also worth mentioning that although it is not feasible to identify the sources Tacitus used for the chapter 43 of his “Germania”, there is some evidence that he may have used an underlying text in Greek, and outside observers may have been involved, see further FALILEYEV 2009: 203, 205–6 and FALILEYEV 2010a.

The *nomen Lugiorum* is comprised of several tribes, some of which are known under the names which indeed allow a Celtic linguistic interpretation. At the same time, however, it must be admitted that as the tribal union was formed apparently both by Celtic and Germanic speakers, it should be allowed that in the course of history the Gaulish names were adapted by the speakers of Germanic, so that it cannot be taken as certain in any particular case whether we are dealing with a “Germanized” originally Celtic ethnonym, or with a German tribal name

which allows a Celtic interpretation superficially, or which was probably simply meaningful for the Celtic-speakers as well. Both of these possibilities find parallels in other parts of Europe, where “Celtic” and “Germanic” communities co-existed and came into various forms of relationship. Celto-Germanic contacts and interaction have been long in the focus of attention of scholars, both linguists and historians, and the bibliography relevant for this study is immense. It is perhaps suffice therefore to refer here to the prehistory of a possibly germanised Celtic ethnic name *Chatti*, for which see bibliography quoted in DCC: 98 and also SITZMANN – GRÜNZWEIG 2008: 91–93 for other treatments.

As we are totally unaware of the linguistic situation in the area, and as the possible linguistic Celticity of some ethnic names belonging to *nomen Lugiorum* may be easily challenged by references to their Germanic etymologies, their analysis may be only tentative. Although the ethnic name *Harii* already mentioned above is quite traditionally traced to Germanic *χáρja- ‘fighter’ (see references in SITZMANN – GRÜNZWEIG 2008: 168–170), which is of course semantically adequate, it allows a Celtic etymology as well, and may go back to Gaulish *arios (see DLG: 55) which is attested in Gaulish onomastics (cf. *Ario-manus*, etc.), or otherwise can be derived from PIE *per- ‘schlagen’ in view of the etymology of Celtic tribal name *Boii* ‘fighters, hitters’, see FALILEYEV 2009: 204–205. Note that the tribal name is accepted as possibly Celtic in KOCH *et al.* 2007: 26, where it is rendered as ‘Noblemen’. If the *Harii* should be equated with the *Charini* (Pliny IV.14, var. *-inni*), it should be observed that Pliny uses *ch* for the sound [h], and then *h-* is organic here, see STIFTER 2012: 531 with further references. It should also be observed that the reflection of PIE **p-* as *h-* in Gaulish most likely is reflected only before [e] or possibly front vowels general, see the discussion in FALILEYEV 2009: 205.

The above mentioned *Helveconae* (variant spellings *Helvetonas*, *Eluheconas* in Tacitus, Αἴλουαίωνες, Ἐλουαίωνες in Ptolemy), most probably indeed Germanic in origin (see SITZMANN – GRÜNZWEIG 2008: 112–113), at least reminds us of the undeniably Celtic ethnic names *Helvetii* and *Helvii*, for which see DCC: 132 and notably is considered linguistically Celtic in KOCH *et al.* 2007: 26, where the ethnic name, although without discussion, is rendered as ‘numerous hounds’. Certain scholars have already pointed out that the second part of the ethnic name *Nahanarvali* reminds of a known component of early Celtic onomastics attested in personal names *Ate-valus*, *Bo-valus*, etc., but the configuration of the first component is difficult, cf. e. g., STEINHAUSER 1950: 13–14. The tribal name is very likely to be Germanic, see further SITZMANN – GRÜNZWEIG 2008: 212–213.

One may note in parenthesis that in connection with this tribe Tacitus (*Germ.* 43) mentions their divinity the Alci (*nomen Alcis*),

Apud Naharvalos antiquae religionis lucus ostenditur. Praesidet sacerdos muliebri ornatu, sed deos interpretatione Romana Castorem Pollucemque memorant. Ea vis numini, nomen Alcis. Nulla simulacra, nullum peregrinae superstitionis vestigium; ut fratres tamen, ut iuvenes venerantur.

“The Naharvali proudly point out a grove associated with an ancient worship. The presiding priest dresses like a woman; but the deities are said to be counterparts of our Castor and Pollux. This indicates their character, but their name is the Alci. There are no images, and nothing to suggest that the cult is of foreign origin; but they are certainly worshipped as young men and as brothers.”

This twin deity it has been considered traditionally linguistically Germanic, but K. WITCZAK (1997: 48–55) offered some arguments in favour of its Celticity. The Polish scholar suggested seeing in the divine name *Alci* a Celtic theonym, which he linguistically equated with the Sicilian twin deity’s name *Palici* (Παλίκοι). It is impossible not to agree with Witczak that the divine twins cult was known in Celtic antiquity (cf. HÄUSSLER 2012: 160–1) as well as in the PIE past, but the suggested linguistic analysis encounters certain phonetic problems. As an option, one may consider here the first part of the compounded toponym *Alkimonia* to which the meaning ‘defence’ is assigned but although the second component is considered Celtic, the linguistic affiliation of the first is still disputable, see GREULE 2009: 690 with further references and for the corresponding PIE verb **h₂leks-* ‘abwehren’ see LIV: 278. On the difficulties of G. **alco-* see DLG: 38 and the references quoted there to which HAMP 2008: 65 may be added now. Therefore the linguistic Celticity of the *Alci* venerated in the area cannot but remain highly disputable.

M. OŁĘDZKI (2005: 146) offered a concise summary of the known facts about the religious life of the Lugii in a following passage:

“Tacitus, the greatest Roman historian, in *Germania* (43) records that there existed a famous holy grove (*antiquus religionis lucus*) in the area of Naharnavalii tribe, a part of the union of the Lugii (*Lugiorum nomen*). The divine twins known as Alci were worshipped there.

A celebrating priest was dressed in a woman's clothes. The name of the grove appears just once in the territory of the Lugian union. The author gives a location neither for the grove he refers to nor for the Naharnavali tribe, yet we may identify *antiquus religionis lucus* with Ptolemy's *Limios alsos* and thus locate that place on Ślęża mountain".

Although much has been written on Gaulish religious beliefs, rituals and practices within different perspectives and methodologies of analysis (HOFENEDER 2005–2011 is indispensable in this respect), this aspect of life of Celtic-speaking tribes by default remains still vague. Indeed, in this passage Tacitus relates about a holy grove where venerations take place, and similar remarks are frequent among the ancient authors writing about "Celtic" religious and social life, cf. the much discussed *locus consecratus* in the land of Carnutes in Gaul mentioned by Caesar (*BG* 6, 13) or Δρυνέμετον in Asia Minor where the Galatian tetrarchs and judges used to meet (Strabo, *Geogr.* XII, 5, 1). Further parallels may be adduced to the components of the ritual as depicted by Tacitus, but this is not important for the present study, and, generally, this visible parallelism may be misleading; for this methodological point see the discussion in SIMS-WILLIAMS 2012a. What is worth noting in this respect is a certain discrepancy between the narrative and linguistic facts. Although the rite and the religious paraphernalia on Ślęża mountain which is also known due to archaeological finds does in fact find parallels in what we traditionally consider as Gaulish religious practice, the names of the gods who were venerated at this place do not raise linguistically Gaulish associations and may well be non-Celtic in origin, possibly Germanic as commonly thought. Although the Naharnavali tribe belongs to *nomen Lugiorum*, this ethnic name is most probably Germanic and not Celtic. And yet, according to Tacitus, there is "nothing to suggest that the cult is of foreign origin"! Fortunately, this discrepancy cannot affect our judgement on the linguistic Celticity of the geographical names in the region but is a useful reminder of the tremendous difficulties one may face going beyond strictly linguistic matters.

As for the Λίμιος ὄλσος (reading of the X manuscript of Ptolemy, see now BURRI 2013: 497–504), it is commonly rendered as *Limis lucus* (MÜLLER 1883: 270), *Hain von Limis* (STÜCKELBERGER – GRASSHOFF 2006: 233), and *Limis* has been sometimes identified with a deity, cf. *Hain von Gottheit Limis* in RASCH 2005: 215, although this is the sole attestation of the theonym. At face value it may have a perfect Celtic etymology, cf. Gaulsh **limo-* 'elm', for which see

DLG: 199. At the same time G. R. ISAAC (2004, Commentary s. v. *Limiosáleion*), who takes the geographical name for Greek, admits that “the {*Límios áłsos*} of X makes sense as Greek ‘the grove of Limis’, leaving open the identity of *Limis* (LN, DN, PN, a region?)”. He also notes that “as argued by Müller, the majority reading {*Limiosáleion*} *vel sim.* is explicable as a corruption of the X reading, but the latter is also explicable as a rationalisation of the former”. Therefore, although the linguistic Celticity of this geographical name remains quite possible, at least at face value, the observations offered above cannot but make the ultimate verdict on its linguistic affiliation less final. See also KLEINEBERG *et al.* 2010: 50 for a useful survey of various attempts at the localization and interpretations of Ptolemaic Λίμιος ḥλσος.

The ethnic name *Burii* is well known in historical (Strabo VII.1,3, Dio Cass. LXXI.18,1) and even epigraphic (CIL III, 5937 *expeditio Burica*) records. According to Ptolemy the tribe belongs to to *nomen Lugiorum* (Λοῦγοι οἱ Βοῦροι), but following Tacitus (*Germ.* 43), who lists them in a sequence (Marsingi, Cotini, Osi and Burii), it is a separate entity and is most probably Germanic, cf. SITZMANN – GRÜNZWEIG 2008: 68. And indeed, as Tacitus informs us, “of these, the Marsingi and Buri are exactly like the Suebi in language and mode of life (*sermone cultuque Suebos referunt*)”. Therefore, it is quite appropriate to admit that the ethnic name is of Germanic origin (cf. Common Germanic **buri-*, Old English *byre* ‘son’), but, notably it may be meaningful in Gaulish as well, cf. G. **buro-* ‘furious’ and G. **burro-* (= W. *bwr* ‘stout, sturdy, big’ in DLG: 94–95). Recorded only by Ptolemy Λοῦγοι οἱ Διδοῦνοι (var. Ἰδοῦνοι) is of course a problem in its own right. However, if G. R. ISAAC (2004, commentary s.v. *Doûnoi*) is correct in his suggestion that “the ms. readings are transparent corruptions of an original {*hoi Doûnoi*}”, this opens a possibility of a Celtic interpretation of this ethnic name as well, ‘people of the fort(s)’ *vel sim.* Note that the *Lougoi Dounoi* have been identified with the so-called Tyniec archaeological group by M. OLĘDZKI (2005: 161, references), who *inter alia* refers to many examples of the place-name *Lugudunum* in the “Celtic” territories. For other options in the discussion of the tribal name see SITZMANN – GRÜNZWEIG 2008: 178–79.

A similar purely philological problem is raised by the interpretation of Λοῦγοι οἱ ὘μαννοί (var. Ἰόμαννοι): the possibly underlying form, if we are dealing with one and the same tribe, reminds us not only of the Illyrian Μάνιοι, but of a number of Celtic parallels, see references in FALILEYEV 2008: 148–149. The most probably Germanic *Helisii* (SITZMANN – GRÜNZWEIG 2008: 175–76), which have been, although wrongly, identified with Ptolemaic Καλισία, see references

in KOLENDO 2009–2010: 83, may have a name which is at least meaningful for the Gaulish speakers as well, cf. geographical names surveyed in DCC: 120–121 and 131–132. For the ethnic names discussed here see FALILEYEV 2009: 203 and FALILEYEV 2010a: 374–79 with further references.

It goes without saying that the exact localization of these tribes, some of which have Celtic or presumably Celtic names is impossible. It is obvious, however, that they are associated with Silesia in south-western Poland, the area where a definitely Gaulish place-name *B(o)udorigon* is traditionally localised. Indeed, Βουδόριγον (var. Βουδόριτον MÜLLER 1883: 271) attested only in Ptolemy has been long associated with modern Brzeg in Lower Silesia, cf. RASCH 2005: 34 or ISAAC 2004, s.v. *Boudórigon*. The linguistic Celticity of the name is undoubtful, but there may be some doubts in regard of its localization. As Dr Zbignew Babik reminds me, Polish *Brzeg* (and in the area we have *Brzeg Dolny* to the north of Wrocław and *Brzeg* (*Wysoki*) to the north of Opole) is perfectly Polish and to trace it to the Celtic toponym is superfluous. According to KLEINEBERG *et al.* 2010: 50, it should be identified with Głogów in southwestern Poland. In fact, the place-name has been localized also in the territory of the modern Czech Republic (see above), and therefore may be indeed irrelevant for the present discussion. A far more interesting case is presented by another place-name, *Lugidunum*, which is traditionally associated with the *Lugii* (cf. WOŹNIAK 1970: 19–20), and this association may prompt further speculations in regard to the interpretation of the first part of the compounded name. The toponym is recorded only by Ptolemy (III, 11, 13), and although the earlier scholarship associates it with modern Legnica in Poland (cf. MÜLLER 1883: 270) and X. DELAMARRE (2012: 378) indeed equates these two place-names, the ancient toponym is also located in the territory of the modern Czech Republic (see above), and therefore cannot have any definitive impact on the judgement on linguistic Celticity in the territory of modern Poland. It is noteworthy that in a recent work it is again traced to Poland, and Krosno Odrzańskie has been named in this respect (KLEINEBERG *et al.* 2010: 50). These uncertainties in the localization of the settlement make further discussion difficult.

It should perhaps be noted here that X. DELAMARRE (2012: 183) differentiates between *Lugi-dunum* as ‘fort of the *Lugii* / *Lugis*’ (cf. also *Lougoi Dounoi* above) referring to this place and *Lugu-dunum* as ‘fort of *Lugus*’. The interpretation of the toponym as ‘fort of the *Lugii*’ is thus not supported by any evidence, although of course if the place-names were attested in the area associated with the tribe this would be an ideal treatment, and Delamarre’s suggestion to see in it a corrupted **Longo-dunum* in view of the topography in Legnica area should be denied.

And, finally, Ptolomaic Καλισία (II, 11,13) was for a long time associated with modern Kalisz located north-east of Silesia, cf. e.g., SIMONYI 1948: 132–33. The identification, however, has been proved wrong (cf. already BA Comment ad Map 13, and see KOLENDO 2009–2010 where its localization in the territory of modern Slovakia is also mentioned), and for the etymology of the modern toponym see BABIK 2001: 140–142. The Ptolomaic evidence has been long considered Celtic although differently (cf. e.g. RASCH 2005: 37, DELAMARRE 2012: 97 and note the references collected in KOLENDO 2009–2010: 84 fn. 46, but cf. also RASCH 2005: 179). Earlier work on the Ptolomaic evidence, including etymology, was usefully surveyed in ŠIMEK 1949: 113–5 and DOBIÁŠ 1964: 13–14, where various linguistic attributions have been discussed. Generally, there are no feautures in this place-name as well as no observations of an extra-linguistic nature to make us consider it Celtic. Note the Germanic approach to the place-name in BERTHEAU 2002: 37, where it is located on the Schwarze Elster (part of the Elbe river system) in Germany. For Ptolomaic Κολάγκωρον, once associated with Sulechów to the north-west of Silesia but also localized in Zittau in Germany, see above.

There are more enclaves in modern Poland which archaeologists claim in favour of the Celtic presence in ancient times (cf., e.g., map in BOCHNAK 2007: 26), and for one of them there is possibly some linguistic evidence as well. Thus, the Celtic settlements in the upper San valley in South-Eastern Poland has been long associated with the *Anartofracti*, cf. OLĘDZKI 2005: 154–157 and 2005a. The ethnic name Ἀναρτοφράχτοι is recorded only by Ptolemy (III, 5, 8, MÜLLER 1883: 424), and there is no doubt as to its connection – both historical and linguistic – with the Celtic tribal name *Anart(i)oi* discussed below, see further FALILEYEV 2007: 23–24 for the linguistic analysis and note that “the relations between the *Anarti* and *Anartophracti*, which seem etymologically clear, were in practice brought about by the close contact of the Upper Tisza and the San valley” (OLĘDZKI 2005a: 150, cf. also BOCHNAK 2007: 31–32 with more references). For the discussion of the presence of the presumably Celtic – at least by name – Cotini in a certain region of Poland see below.

North-Eastern Europe

If we go further in the direction of North-West, this way brings us to the Kaliningrad region of the Russian Federation (former Prussia), Lithuania, Latvia and Belarus’, which were inhabited in antiquity by tribes speaking various Baltic languages. The onomastic data of this vast area has been carefully searched for possible

Celtic traces by the prolific Lithuanian scholar K. Būga in the beginning of the XX century. He went through a considerable amount of geographical names which at face value could allow a Celtic interpretation, and aptly came to the negative conclusion: “auf baltischem Gebiet hat es niemals Kelten gegeben” (BÜGA 1913: 34), and at least to my knowledge this verdict has not been challenged. Thus, the search for linguistically Celtic geographical names in north-eastern Europe is futile and pointless.

The survey of the area will be, however, incomplete if two more piece of evidence are not taken into consideration. As Tacitus (*Germania*, 45) informs us, ‘peoples of the *Aestii*’ (*Aestiorum gentes*) spoke a language closer to that used in Britain than that of the Germanic *Suebi*:

*Ergo iam dextro Suebici maris litore
Aestiorum gentes adlunntur, quibus
ritus habitusque Sueborum, lingua
Britannicae propior.*

Turning, therefore, to the right hand shore of the Suebian sea, we find it washing the country of the *Aestii*, who have the same customs and fashions as the *Suebi*, but a language more like the British.

Several explanations of this passage are known, cf. FOWKES 1972, RÜBEKEIL 1992: 72–73, and most recently KUZMENKO 2011: 169–170. However, this observation of Tacitus does not presuppose that the *Aestiorum gentes* spoke a Celtic language and therefore represent a Celtic-speaking enclave in the Baltic area. Moreover, the tribe has been long considered Baltic¹⁷, and various explanations of the ethnic name have been suggested, see ZINKEVIČIUS 2010 and cf. also DINI 2002: 56–62. There is no need therefore to consider *Aestii* in our search for the Celtic presence in the east. Similarly, the evidence of the XIII century encyclopaedia of Bartholomaeus Anglicus “De proprietatibus rerum”, according to which the province Semigallia by the Baltic Sea is called so due to the fact that the newcomers Galatians mixed with the local population (*Unde Semigalli sunt dicti, qui ex Gallis, sive Galatis, et illis populis processerunt*) should be dismissed. Witty as it is, this is an attempt to offer an etymology in its medieval sense for the name of the province inhabited by the Baltic tribe

¹⁷ Ironically, in 1837 K. Zeuss introduced the term *aistisch* to denote the Baltic group of languages, which was accepted in Lithuanian scholarship and lasted for a while (DINI 2002: 35).

of *Zemgali* (cf. modern *Zemgale* in Latvia) in the Middle Ages, see DINI 2002: 250–255.

The second piece of evidence which is by far more relevant for the present discussion is related by Pliny (*HN* IV, 13. 94–95)¹⁸:

Signata fama septentrionalis oceani. Amalchium eum Hecataeus appellat a Parapaniso amne, qua Scythiam adluit, quod nomen eius gentis lingua significat congelatum. Philemon Morimarusam a Cimbris vocari, hoc est mortuum mare, inde usque ad promunturium Rusbeas, ultra deinde Cronium.

To the north is the ocean; beyond the river Parapanisus where it washes the coast of Scythia Hecateus calls it the Amalchian Sea, a name that in the language of the natives means ‘frozen’; Philemon says that the Cimbrian name for it is Morimarusa (that is, ‘Dead Sea’) from the Parapanisus to Cape Rusbeae, and from that point onwards the Cronian Sea.

As the Cimbri are considered as a mixed group, comprised by the Germanic and Celtic speakers (cf. Th. Grünwald, G. Neumann, J. Martens, Kimbern, in *RGA* 16 (2000), 493–504 and see further SITZMANN – GRÜNZWEIG 2008: 97–100), and as *Morimarusa* ‘Dead Sea’ (for the nomenclature of *Mortuum mare* in Roman tradition see LUQUE MORENO 2011: 262–63) cannot be Germanic, it is undoubtedly Gaulish, cf. DLG: 219 or SIMS-WILLIAMS 2006: 186. Attempts of several scholars to prove its Dacian (!) origin, as in TRUBACHOV 1991: 40 and 84, which are based on the *ad hoc* references to the structurally similar-looking toponyms in Dacia and betray severe misunderstandings of the Gaulish grammar, are futile; see further FALILEYEV 2003: 214–15. The *Sitones*, mentioned by Tacitus (*Germ.* 45) as a northern European tribe (without precise localization, possibly Scandinavia) is surely non-Celtic, although at face-value a Celtic etymology may be applied to this ethnic name, see SIMS-WILLIAMS 2006: 194.

South-Eastern Europe

The territories of the Western Balkans and north-eastern Adriatics, as known from historical sources, witnessed the presence of Celtic speaking people. The

¹⁸ The text and translation are quoted from H. Rackham, *Pliny: Natural History*, Volume II, Books 3–7 (Loeb Classical Library), London and Cambridge 1947, pp. 192–193.

data obtained from the works of the ancient authors which relates about the movement of these people finds additional support in the archaeological record. However, new approaches towards interpretation of the archaeological finds and their significance for tracing the “ethnic” and linguistic situation in the areas now covered by Slovenia, Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina warn us against an uncritical acceptance of the views expressed by the authors of antiquity. “Illyrian-Celtic” problematics in archaeological and historical records within the modern paradigm of analysis has become the focus of fundamental research, particularly by D. Džino (see e.g., DŽINO 2008 and 2011). This trend in modern scholarship allows to reconsider views which were commonly acceptable some thirty or twenty years ago, and offers new perspectives for the estimation of the “Celticity” of the area. Thus, for example, the once suggested Celto-Japodean *cohabitat* in the areas comprising now parts of the two latter states was recently revisited and revised in DZINO 2008a (history and archaeology, cf. also DŽINO 2007) and FALILEYEV 2012: 199–205 to the effect that there are no grounds nowadays to follow *verbatim* the observations expressed by, e.g., Strabo, who tells us that the inhabitants of the area are both Illyrians and Celts. Notwithstanding that, however, some scholars still believe in the historical Celticity of the area (cf., e.g., MIRKOVIĆ 2012: 22), and recently X. DELAMARRE (2012: 63 and *passim*) has analysed Strabo’s list of place-names of the Japodes (Strabo IV, 6, 10) as Celtic. As the linguistic aspect of Celto-Japodean question deserves a more comprehensive discussion, it will be done elsewhere, but here it will suffice to mention that all the toponymic data of the area prompts rather non-Celtic linguistic attributions.

As far as the toponyms of Celtic origin are concerned, in the Western Balkans there are few undeniably Gaulish place-names which are found in the works of the authors of antiquity as well as in the Latin inscriptions of the area. Indeed, there is little or no doubt that *Karrodunum* (Gradina, **carro-* & *-dūno-*) or *Cornacum* (Sotin, *corno-* & *-āko-*), both in Croatia, are Celtic, see DCC: 91 and 108–9, although the latter is sometimes considered as “Illyrian”, cf. KRAHE 1946: 215, but note COLOMBO 2010: 196. The vast majority of place-names of the region, which at least allow a Celtic linguistic attribution, may well belong to other idioms spoken there in antiquity. Now there is no final consensus on the linguistic attribution of dozens of place-names, such as *Andautonia* (Ščiterjevo), *Andetrium* (Gornij Muč), *Aquae Balissae* (Daruvar), *Arausa* (Velika Mrdakovica) *Blandona* (Stabanj), *Lissa Ins.* (Ugljan) and *Senia* (Senj) in Croatia or *Ad Matricem* (Otinovci near Kupres) and *Urbate* (Srpsac) in Bosnia and Herzegovina. See further DCC (s.vv.), DELAMARRE 2012: 321, FALILEYEV 2003: 213–214, FALILEYEV 2005a:

127–133, FALILEYEV 2008: 148–49 where further literature is cited. What is also worth noting in parenthesis, is that the modern toponymic landscape preserves quite a few of the place-names coined in antiquity, which is totally unknown in the east, for which see above. Generally, the toponymic data of the area is of extraordinary interest and importance for linguistic Celtic and historical studies, and it should be analyzed comprehensively within a broader geographic and linguistic context, with Trans-Adriatic and Transalpine vectors considered.

For the present research it is the Celtic data of the Eastern Balkans which should be the focus. As it was discussed in full in FALILEYEV 2013 (cf. also FALILEYEV 2012) to which the interested reader is referred, this part of the presentation of the ancient Celtic toponymy in this part of Eastern Europe will be concise and summarizing. Most place-names of Celtic origins are found in the territories of modern Serbia and Bulgaria, for which we have a solid historical justification provided by the authors of antiquity. It should be also taken into consideration that the inner-Balkan movements of Celtic speaking individuals are known, and to these may be attributed the coinage of certain Gaulish geographical names. These movements may presuppose considerable distances, particularly when mercenaries were involved: as was shown, for example, by A. RUSTOIU (2006), “Celtic” hired warriors from Transylvania reached quite distant points in the south-east of Europe. The mercenaries are known from the classical sources (see KRUTA 2000: 253–255, 727–728 and cf. DŽINO 2008: 53 with further references) and are also detected in the epigraphic sources, that is Greek inscriptions of the Hellenistic period, in various places in the Balkans, cf. FALILEYEV 2012: 142–152 and 209–210. Needless to add here that the “Celtic” presence in this vast area, and rather the archaeological finds normally associated with it, has been in the focus of scholarly attention for a considerable time.

However, before we turn to the evidence from the territories of modern Serbia and Bulgaria, some attention should be paid to the rest of the region (see *Map 3*). It may be mentioned at once that we have no toponyms of Celtic origin in the territory of modern Montenegro. The neighbouring Albania also cannot boast of any Gaulish place-name, although bits and pieces of La Tène archaeological evidence are still attested and associated – in historical and geographical context – with the ancient *Via Egnatia*. Nevertheless, there is evidence that Celtic speakers most probably lived in the Greek colonies located in the territory of modern Albania, and for that we have certain epigraphic evidence, see the discussion of “Celtic Albania” in FALILEYEV 2012: 142–152 and 205–210. As for modern Kosovo, three place-names may be relevant for our discussion. Indeed, *Gabuleum*,

which has been identified with Gjakovë / Đakovica and (earlier) with the vicinity of Prizren, but which may be also identified with Kukës in Albania, reminds us of Gaulish place-names in **gabalo-*, for which see DCC: 19, although a Latin intermediary must be then considered. *Vindenis*, nowadays a village Glavnik north of Prishtina, in theory may go back to G. **uindo-*, although such an analysis presupposes certain morphological difficulties, cf. also DELAMARRE 2012: 271. In both cases the toponyms may be well coined in non-Celtic languages. The third place-name, *Vellanis* reminds of the Gaulish **uello-*. This form is recorded only by Ptolemy (III, 9, 4 Οὐελλανίς, var. Οὐελανίς), and modern scholarship suggests that this is identical with *Viciano* of TP VI, 3, localised by the village of Uglari to south-east of Prishtina. Therefore, any judgement on the linguistic Celticity of *Vellanis* may be only conjectural. On these three place-names see FALILEYEV 2013: 68, 146–147 and 152 with further references, and it should be concluded that they are not reliable examples of Celtic toponymy in the area. As for the territory of modern Macedonia, it does not seem to have a single place-name of Celtic origin: although X. DELAMARRE (2012: 139) tentatively suggests that Δόβηρος goes back to Gaul. **do-beru-* ‘Male Source’, this suggestion may well be questioned. As already noted, *Doberos* which is identified possibly with the town Bansko and the modern river Strumnitsa in BA, map 50 (following N. G. L. Hammond), is difficult. First, it should be mentioned that its usage as a hydronym was suggested by Hammond due to the occurrence of the geographical name in the masculine gender, and quite a few scholars do not accept this proposal. Even if it is so, its Paionian (already G. Katsarov and more recently I. Duridanov) or Thracian (DETSCHEW 1976: 144) linguistic attributions cannot be so easily denied or totally neglected, as there seems no grounds even to suspect Celtic presence in the area at the time of Herodotus, when the geographical name was recorded first.

And, finally, for the territory of modern Greece there is a swatle of historical information provided by such authors as Polybius and Pompeus Trogus about Celtic raids in the III c. BC in the area, the most famous and iconic of which was the sack of Delphi. Celtic archaeological finds are sporadic, cf. a survey in MAIER 1973, and for historical matters RANKIN 1987 remains indispensable. As for the Celtic place-names in this region, all of them pose a number of questions, and generally their linguistic Celticity may very often be challenged. Again, these are found in clusters forming certain enclaves and although there is no direct historical evidence supporting the hypothesis of the presence of Celtic speakers in the given area, in some cases these linguistically selected enclaves are tentatively backed

by certain archaeological observations. Thus, in ancient Macedonia we find two geographic names which allow a Celtic approach. *Klitai* (to the north east of lake Pikrolimne), if Celtic, may be a cognate of OIr *cleth* ‘concealment, hiding’ MW *clid*, *clyt* ‘sheltered, snug, dry’; subst. ‘shelter, refuge’, but cf. here Greek κλιτύς ‘slope, hill-side’. *Gallicum* (possibly, modern Philadelphiana) is attested in two spellings, *Gallicum* (TP VII, 2) and *Callicum* (Rav. IV, 9). If the former attestation is original, it may go back to **gallo-*, for this cluster of geographical names see FALILEYEV 2008: 149–51 and SIMS-WILLIAMS 2011: 277–8. Two oronyms in the area which allow a Celtic interpretation (direct or indirect) are discussed above. The stream *Herkyna* in Boeotia derived from the name of the deity identified with Demeter (Lycophron 153) at face value finds a perfect match in *Hercynia silva* discussed above. However, its geographical location in the heart of Greece and the conspicuous lack of other possibly Celtic place-names in the area makes its Celtic identification difficult.

Central and Eastern Balkans

As we know from the historical sources, the territory of the central Balkans were dominated by the Scordisci, whose “Celtic” ethnic identity has been advocated for a long time. The recent revisionism of the archaeological and historical data has shown that the situation is more complex than was previously admitted. As D. DŽINO (2008: 57) argues, the indigenous population constructs “a hybrid or in fact a brand new Scordiscan identity as a product of constant negotiation between the existing regional cultural *habitatus* and the La Tène and Mediterranean cultural templates”. Linguistically speaking, the toponymic landscape of the region is notably mixed, and we find there both Gaulish and non-Celtic geographical names as well as hybrid formations, cf. FALILEYEV 2012: 43–72. The obvious problem for the present study, which as may be stressed again, does not consider directly the ethnic aspect and is primarily purely linguistic, is presented by the fact that the exact Scordiscan region of *habitat* or the areas which are controlled by the Scordisci are impossible to determine precisely. For this set of questions see a useful survey in DŽINO 2008: 53 and cf. e. g., MIRKOVIĆ 2012: 21 for the territory of the modern northern Montenegro or THEODOSSIEV 2005 for the north-western part of modern Bulgaria. Therefore, it is sometimes difficult to argue with any certainty whether given clusters of Celtic toponyms belong to a periphery of the “Scordiscan world”, or were left by other Celtic-speaking groups which inhabited the corresponding territories. Generally, Celtic toponymic data

from Central and Eastern Balkans points to several major clusters. The first is in Serbia and this is the area traditionally associated with the Scordisci *proprie dicti*, also known as the “Lower Galatia”, as Plutarch (Aem. Paul. 9 διὸ τῆς κάτω Γαλατίας) informs us. The second presents a continuum of Celtic place names along the Danube and possibly further inland in the north-eastern part of Serbia and north-western Bulgaria. The third cluster of linguistically Celtic place-names we find in the central-western part of Bulgaria, to the west of Sofia, mainly in Tran region (possibly extending to Serbian Niš but likewise possibly forming a separate enclave), while the fourth is to be sought in south-eastern Bulgaria and the northern part of European Turkey.

Another difficulty pertaining to the segmentation of Celtic place-names in the Central and Eastern Balkans is also known for the other regions explored in this publication. Sometimes it is impossible to find convincing arguments in favour of the Celtic origin of a given toponym, although at face-level it may seem to be attractive. Unfortunately, there are only several compounded forms with marked and conspicuous linguistic Celticity, and the predominant majority of them are found in the territories associated with the Scordisci *proprie dicti*. Two of them are hybrid formations, with the first indigenous component, and the second part represented by Gaulish **dūno-* ‘fort’. The place-name *Capedunon* is known only from Strabo (VII, 5, 12 Καπέδουνον) and has been localised near Titovo Užice, but this identification has been considered as “most uncertain” (PAPAZOGLU 1978: 370). The ancient name of Belgrade *Singidunum* is well attested (cf. Σιγίδουνον (var. Σιγίνδουνον) Ptol. III, 9, 3, etc.), and its identification is straightforwardly safe. In both cases the first components of the place-names are pre-Celtic or at least non-Celtic, which interestingly offers a beautiful linguistic parallel to the suggestion of modern historians that the Scordisci were a mixed entity, see further FALILEYEV 2012: 43–52 and FALILEYEV 2013: 38–39 and 124–127. The third compounded toponym in this area is attested in a military diploma and is possibly associated with modern Skela in Serbia. *Iatumentianae* probably goes back to an unattested personal name, to Gaulish **iantu-* & *mentyon-* ‘desire-wish’ *vel sim.*, see further FALILEYEV 2013: 77.

The uncompounded place-names of the area, which are likely to be Celtic, are also attested. *Cornacum* (modern Sotin, Κορνακόν (var. Κόρνακον) Ptol. II, 15, 1, etc.), cf. also the corresponding ethnic name *Cornacates* (Pliny HN III, 148; CIL V, 6986) is uncontroversially derived from **korn-āko-*. *Bononia* (modern Banostor, also known as *Malata*, Μαλάτα Ptol. II, 15, 4, etc.) is most probably Celtic. *Tricornium* (Ripotek, cp. Τρικόρνιον (var. Τρικόρνια, Τρικόνιον) Ptol.

III,9,3, etc.) is also most probably Celtic, **tri-* & *corn-*, but this trivial composite form could have been coined in a different language. Similarly, *Cuccium* (Ilok, *Cucci(o)* TP V, 3, etc.) may be Celtic (ISAAC 2004, s.v.), although the toponym has been traditionally viewed as “Illyrian”. *Vinceia* (Smederevo, *Vinceia* IA 132,3, etc.) may be of Celtic origins as well, to G. **uinco-*, but there cannot be any certainty with its linguistic attribution. *Viminiacum* (Kostolac, Οὐιμινάκιον Ptol. III,9,3, etc.) has been long considered Latin, but its exact equivalent in Spain, Castro Muza, is sometimes analysed as Celtic, although this approach raises considerable difficulties. Although *Rittium* (Surduk, Πίττιον Ptol. II,15,3, etc.) has been considered Pannonian, it is very likely to be Celtic and may well be from the personal name *Rittius vel sim.* Another traditionally Illyrian toponym, *Taurunum* (Zemum, Ταυρούνου Ptol. II, 16, 4, etc.), where a Celtic oppidum was unearthed, may also be in theory Gaulish in origin, although again there cannot be any certainty in this linguistic attribution. *Budalia* (Marinci, *Budalia* Eutr. 9, 4, etc.) is normally viewed as Illyrian, but a Celtic etymology may be applied to it as well, at least tentatively, and the same may be said of *Bao* (possibly Veliko Laole) and *Remesiana* (Bela Palanka), while *Burdomina* in the vicinity of the latter and the ancient name of Niš *Na(v)issus* are most likely to be non-Celtic notwithstanding the claims to the contrary. It is worth noting that *Olodoris* in the area of Niš may be Celtic as well. Several toponyms in *-ta* also may allow a Celtic interpretation, at least at face value: *Lederata* (Ram, TP VI,2, etc.) and *Taliata* (Veliki Gradac, Ταλιατίς (var. Τανάτις, Τάνατις) Ptol. III, 9, 3, etc.). At the same time *Malata* (Banoštov), *Egeta* (Brza Palanka), *Spaneta* (Kukujevci) and the non-localised *Heorta* (Ἑόρτα Strabo VII, 5, 12), are much more likely to be “Illyrian” than Celtic, as well as *Gerulata* associated with the village of Miroč near the eastern Serbian town Donji Milanovac, see below. Although there is still uncertainty in the argument for the linguistic Celticity of the surveyed toponyms in the territory of modern Serbia, yet we have a possibility to speak about this enclave of Celtic and presumably Celtic geographic names in the area. What should be recalled here, is that the ethnic name *Scordisci* itself is possibly non-Celtic (or at least a hybrid) linguistic formation, and the population of the area is “ethnically” or at least linguistically composite (see DŽINO 2008), as is nicely reflected in the onomastic landscape of the area. For further details see FALILEYEV 2012: s.vv.

It goes without saying that the modern political borders have nothing to do with the attempts to systemize and map the data of antiquity, therefore, moving further east to the territory of modern Bulgaria, one may pose a question whether

the two enclaves of Celtic and possibly Celtic place-names in the western regions of this country close to the Serbian border should be considered as having an immediate connection with the data discussed above. The first of the areas is found to the west of modern Sofia, in a region of Tran, where several such geographical names are attested, although not precisely localised. Indeed, *Lucunanta* (recorded only by Procopius *De aed.* 122, 24 Λουκουνάντα) is undeniably Celtic, most probably to Gaulish **leuco-*, *louco-*, *lūcā-* ‘bright, open’ & **nantu-* ‘valley’, cf. *Leuco-mago* ‘Bright field’, and *Magimia* (Μαγιμιάς, *De aed.* 122, 23 in acc. pl.) is probably based on a Gaulish personal name. Two more toponyms in this area may be also Gaulish, but may allow a non-Celtic interpretation as well. Thus, *Butta* (Βούττις, Proc. *De aed.* 122, 26, acc. pl.) cannot but remind us of Gaulish *buta* ‘hutte, cabane’ (Delamarre, DLG: 95), but Thracian data in *bott-* is also known, see DETSCHEW 1976: 76–8. *Alaros* (Αλαρός, Proc. *De aed.* 122, 22) finds certain parallels in Holder’s corpus (*Alarona castrum* and *Alara*), as noted by several scholars, but it was also interpreted as Latin or Thracian, and there is no decisive argument for its linguistic Celticity; the same may be said about *Meldia* which is located between Dragoman and Slivnitsa. See further FALILEYEV 2013, s. vv. In 1993 M. Manov published a very interesting artefact which may be relevant for historic explanation of this cluster of Celtic names. According to Manov, this object, which he takes for (possibly) an amulet or talisman, may contain a reference to the eponymic deity of the *Scordisci*, *Scordos* (genitive Σκορδοῦ). Although the place of the find of the artifact brought to the National Archaeological Museum of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences in Sofia in 1894 is unknown, M. MANOV (1993: 26–27) tentatively associates the object with the area of Sofia.

The second enclave of Celtic place-names in western Bulgaria is found in its north-western part. There is hardly any doubt that *Bononia*, now Vidin (*Bononia* IA 219, 2, etc.), is a Celtic toponym. Three more possible Celtic place-names valid for the present discussion are attested only in Procopius. These are not localized precisely, but must be located somewhere in Dacia Mediterranea, between Vratsa and Berkovitsa: Ἀρδεία in view of Gaulish **arduo-* (for the IE perspectives of its analysis cf. also HAMP 2008: 67), Ἀρκοῦνες, for which various Celtic explanation are possible (note also a recent discussion of **arco-* in DELAMARRE 2010–12: 132–3), and Δουρίες. It should be reminded, however, that Celtic linguistic interpretation of these toponyms may sometimes be difficult, and for the latter example a Thracian approach is also possible. *Vorovum Minus* (presupposing also *Vorovum Maior*) is known from the inscription of the Roman

date in the Montana area, which is nearly half way from Bononia (Vidin) to Vratsa. The place-name, identified with modern Kradover in Vratsa area (BA I: 324), is most probably Celtic. *Remetodia* (TP VI, 5, etc., modern Orsoya) is certainly Celtic, as well as **Icacidunum* which is known from the sole inscription found in the vicinity of modern Gigen (ancient *Oescus*); see discussion of these toponyms in FALILEYEV 2013, s. vv. The underlying historical situation which resulted in the emergence of the Celtic toponyms is not markedly clear. It may be considered, for example, that in case of *Bononia* it may be a Celtic name, transposed from the West, an example of a “Roman place with a Celtic name”. Such an explanation, however, cannot account for the other toponyms, for which we would expect the physical presence of Celtic speakers who would have coined them on the spot. And, indeed, as suggested by N. THEODOSSIEV (2005: 90), “one may not exclude the probability that some Gaulish (that is Scordiscan) ethnic enclaves existed in the region during the third century BC”, and if it was in fact so, that gives an excellent *Sitz im Leben* for the Celtic place-names in this region. For the archaeological Padea-Panagjurski Kolonii Group in the adjacent area see RUSTOIU 2005.

In discussing this enclave of Celtic place-names in north-western Bulgaria, it is worth crossing the state border back again to Serbia and consider the ancient toponymic landscape around Aquae (modern Prahovo), for which scholars postulated an impressive cluster of Celtic place-names. The majority of these toponyms, known from Procopius, such as *Gembero* (Γέμβερο, *De aed.* 124, 6), *Gribo* (Γρίβο, *De aed.* 124, 9, abl. sg.), *Meridius* (Μερίδιο *De aed.* 124, 22), *Merioponte* (Μεριοπόντεδε *De aed.* 124, 23), *Scaripara* (Σκαρίπαρα, *De aed.* 124, 14) and **Arganokella* (Αργανόκηλα *De aed.* 123, 51), are in fact non-Celtic. However, *Setlota* (Σέτλοτες, *De aed.* 124, 20), long compared with the Gaulish theonym *Setlocenia* (Holder II: 1528) may be well Gaulish, although the semantics of the toponym may cause some questions. Gaulish **sētlo-* means ‘age’ *vel sim.* (cf its Welsh cognate *hoedl* ‘id.’), and is not really expected in place-name formation, unless it is derived from a personal (or divine) name. *Braiola* (Βραιόλα, *De aed.* 124, 25) if indeed Celtic, allows for various explanations, see FALILEYEV 2013, s vv.

We find the last enclave of at least possibly Celtic place-names in the south-eastern part of the Balkan peninsula, *viz.* in south-eastern Bulgaria and possibly the European part of Turkey. All the toponyms which may belong to this cluster could be localized only roughly, and the localization of some of them still remains a matter of ongoing dispute. *Casibona* (known only from Procopius, in the genitive

plural form Κασιβόνων De aed. 146, 41) may reflect Gaulish *cas(s)i-* & *-bona*, but its Celtic linguistic affiliations are quite debatable. *Orcelis* (only in Ptolemy III, 11, 7, Ορκελίς, var. Ορκελλίς) finds a perfect match in an identical place-name in *Hispania* (cf. also the *Orcades* in the British Isles, RIVET – SMITH 1979: 433–4), and may go back to G. **orco-* ‘(domestic / young) pig’ and / or ‘salmon’ (cf. Old Irish *orc* ‘id.’), itself a descriptive appellative, lit. ‘speckled’. Also known only by Ptolemy (III, 11, 7) *Valla* (Οὐάλλα), also in the XV century ms Vaticanus Palatinus Graecus 314, may be Celtic (cf. Gaulish personal names *Uallus*, *Uallo*, *Uali*), but a possibility of its Latin origin (Lat. *vallum*) should not be dismissed. *Rimesica* (only in TP VII, 3) also at least allows a Celtic interpretation, if the underlying form is in **Remi-*, but the settlement may be localised in the eastern or central part of the Balkan Mountain, and therefore may have nothing to do with this particular cluster of the toponyms. The cluster itself is very probably to be associated with the so-called “Celtic kingdom in Thrace” which was established in the beginning of the III c. BC, see further FALILEYEV 2005a: 108–116 and FALILEYEV 2010, and for a variety of attempts to localize this kingdom one may consult contributions in VAGALINSKI 2010. It should be recalled that the most famous settlement of this kingdom, *Tylis* (Τύλις, Polybius IV, 46), is most likely itself to be non-Celtic though, see the argumentation presented in FALILEYEV 2013, s. vv.

Along the Danube towards the Delta

If we move westwards along the Danube from the discussed above region in north-western Bulgaria, we come across several isolated toponyms which should be considered for the present discussion. All of them present problems, of various kinds. *Mediolana* is of course undeniably Celtic from the linguistic point of view, **medio-* & **lān(i)o-*, cf. the underlying ancient name of modern Milano in Italy, ‘(town in the) middle of the plain’. It is attested in comparatively late sources, however, and may in theory even be a ghost form. Scholars who are nevertheless certain of its reality place it between ancient *Trimammium* and *Apiara* (cf. Barrington Atlas map 22 D-5, unlocalized), and most recently it has been associated by S. Conrad and D. Stanchev with the vicinity of the village Pirgovo to the south east of modern Ruse. One may also note that according to the opinion shared by many scholars (cf. e.g., LACROIX 2007: 194–99 with further references), in the “Celtic West” *Mediolanum* is *par excellence* a ‘sacred centre’. To my knowledge, there are no grounds provided by archaeology, at least so far,

to see in *Mediolana* / Pirgovo a Gaulish religious centre, and probably a strictly topographic interpretation of the toponym is therefore more appropriate.

Further east along the Danube, north of village Vetren near Silistra, we find a well attested in historical sources *Tegulicum* (IA 223,3, etc.), which may be Celtic in view of G. **tegos* (cf. OIr *teg* ‘house’) or the Common Celtic *u*-stem adjective **tegu-* ‘thick’. The ancient name of Silistra, *Durostorum*, has been long suspected to be Celtic, but is more probably of indigenous origin. See further FALILEYEV 2013, s. vv. The reason for the emergence of these toponyms, if they are in fact genuine and in the latter case indeed Celtic, is difficult to explain: the ancient authors are silent about the presence of speakers of Celtic in these places, and it seems that the archaeological landscape of these sites does not favour such an interpretation, if this of course can be taken as a solid argument. In case of *Mediolana* it could be a realisation of the known scenario ‘Roman place with a Celtic name’, but this explanation is not applicable to *Tegulicum*. This toponym is not known in the “Celtic West”, and if it is in fact Gaulish, it was coined on the spot, for which at least one Celtic speaker is necessary. In any event, it may after all be non-Celtic. Generally, the prospect of the presence, possibly quite brief, of Celtic speaking groups along strategic communication ways such was the Danube in antiquity may explain in theory the emergence of the geographically isolated place-names in question.

There is a strong linguistic evidence for the Celtic presence further east in and around the Danube Delta (*Map 4*), where we find another cluster of Celtic and presumably Celtic geographical names in Scythia Minor. The undeniably Celtic *Noviodunum* is firmly associated with Isaccea in modern Romania and is attested first in Ptolemy’s “Geography” (III, 10, 2 Νοιόδουνον, var. Νοιόδουνον). This conspicuously Gaulish compounded toponym with a number of parallels from the “Celtic West” has an unproblematic etymology, **nou(i)o-* ‘new’ & **dūno-* ‘fort’, and cannot be assigned to a language other than Celtic. Just across the Danube on its Ukrainian shores we find *Aliobrix* which is normally associated with a site at Orlovka / Cartal, which later became a Roman castellum (DZIGOVSKIY 2003: 131–2)¹⁹. The toponym is attested only in a single manuscript of Ptolemy, Vaticanus Graecus 191 (III, 10, 5; MÜLLER 1883: 468, omitted in Stückelberger, Grasshoff 2006: 324; for the manuscript see Burri 2013: 497–504), ἀπέναντι Νοονιδούνου πέραν τοῦ Δανούβεως ποταμοῦ

¹⁹ Note that some scholars erroneously place this settlement in Moldova, see FALILEYEV 2012: 111.

ἐστὶ πόλις τῶν Γόθθων Ἀλιόβρις. Etymologically it goes back to **h₂el-io-* (OIr *aile* ‘other’, MW *eil* ‘second’) & **brig-s*, therefore, “the second / other high (fortified) settlement”; the first being perhaps *Noviodunum*. This place-name, also cannot be anything but Celtic. *Arubium* (*Arubio* TP 7, 4, *Arrubio* IA 225,4 etc.) is located near modern Măcin in Romania, and a plethora of Celtic etymologies could be applied to it although due to the obvious reasons not a single one could be considered as proven. In any event its indigenous origins is unlikely. *Vicus Nov(iodunum)* known only from a Latin inscription from Badabag in Romania, if not for *Vicus Nov(us)* and if to be localised in the vicinity of the place the inscription was found, will belong here as well. *Salsovia*, located west of the modern village of Mahmudia on the southern bank of the St. Gheorghe arm of the Danube, has been considered by X. Delamarre (2912: 227) Gaulish, to an unattested personal name **Salsus*. Delamarre rightly admits that the toponym has been considered Thracian in scholarship; it is worth noting that it was claimed to be Celtic already by A. Holder (II: 1331), and this suggestion is criticized in DETSCHEW 1976: 415. Although the region of the Danube delta is known only for stray archaeological finds which may be relevant for the present discussion, the Celtic ethnic name *Britolagai*, which is attested only in Ptolemy (III, 10, 7 Βριτολάγαι, var. Βριττόλαγαι, Βριτολάγε N; Βριτογάλλοι O; Βριτολάγγαι Z), and hence the presence of the Celtic-speaking peoples in this area around (to the north of?) the Danube delta, probably covering certain areas of modern Romania, Ukraine and even possibly Moldova, may explain the emergence of these Celtic toponyms in the area.

This area has a few more place-names which either allow a Celtic interpretation, or were analysed as such in earlier publications. One of the most famous of these is *Vicus Vergobrittianus*, but the actual reading of this toponym found only in one inscription from Scythia Minor is *Vero[.] / [.]rittiani*. Lake *Celtros* (Κέλτρος λίμνη) found only in Lycophron’s “Alexandra” may be in theory a descriptive term, but in this case we rather would expect it to be based on *Galatoi vel sim. Dinogetia* (modern Garvăni in Romania) is probably non-Celtic, although X. DELAMARRE (2012: 137) insists on its Gaulish origin, either a hybrid formation **dīnu-getiā* ‘l’Abri-des-Gètes’ or entirely Celtic **dīno-cētiā* ‘Shelter-wood’. On the Celtic and presumably Celtic geographical names of this area see the discussion in FALILEYEV 2007: 3–14 where further bibliography is cited. *Dagis* which is localized near Istria may in theory be Celtic (G. **dago-* ‘good’, DLG: 134), but other linguistic attributions are equally possible, see SIMS-WILLIAMS 2006: 218. On top of that, the modern toponym *Galati* should

be excluded from the discussion of the Celtic names of the area (see above), as well as the neighbouring *Braila* (cf. the discussion of ancient *Braiola* in the central Balkans), as the name is Romanian (possibly ultimately Slavic) in origin.

Recently, M. ZAHARIADE (2011: 137–143) added one more possible toponym to the list of the Celtic place-names in the area. *Reginasse*, recorded in the early medieval source relating about Diocletian's visit to the region in 294 AD, is identified by Zahariade with the Turkish toponym *Regenebayır* (“*Regene* hill”) located between modern Esechioi and Garvănu Mic in the South West of Dobruja. The reasons for the Celtic linguistic attribution of the place-name are transparent, and the author aptly refers to Holder II: 1107 for *comparanda*. Indeed, modern scholarship accepts *Reginā* as a Celtic place-name, cf. e.g., DELAMARRE 2012: 219 and DCC: 28. The Latin origins of some of the similar looking names should not be dismissed, note in this respect the cautious labelling of *Reginium / Castra Regina* (Regensburg) as only “possible Celtic” by P. SIMS-WILLIAMS (2006: 188). A further problem with the Celtic attribution of the place-name is its morphological structure. M. ZAHARIADE (2011: 138) suggests that we find the same suffix in *Birginaso* recorded by Procopius, which he also takes for Celtic. It should be remarked that the latter place-name is hardly Celtic: forms in *birg-* to my knowledge are not attested in Gaulish (cf. DLG or MATASOVIĆ 2009). Although X. DELAMARRE (2012: 79) lists the hydronym *Birgos* (usually identified with modern Barrow in Ireland) as Celtic, apparently following Holder I: 493, this attestation in Ptolemy's geography (Βίργου, var. Βάργου II, 2, 5) is problematic. Although G. R. ISAAC (2004, s.v.) finds in it a component *birgo-*, he does not comment on it thus rejecting its linguistic Celticity. See further DE BERNARDO STEMPPEL 2000: 104 for a possibility that the river-name is misspelled in the “Geography”. As for the suffix, it is clear that the single surviving attestation *Reginasse* is most probably corrupt, and one may just have guesses as to what the original form of the place-name was. It goes without saying that Celtic place-names in *-ss-* are attested, cf. e.g., *Dumnissus* (modern Kirchberg-Denzen in Germany) or *Vindonissa* (Windisch in Switzerland), see DCC: 115 and 239, and indeed derivations in sibilants (of various origins) are known in Gaulish, see also further references in FALILEYEV, forthcoming. Unfortunately, any further discussion along these lines of *Reginasse* can only be speculative, although the toponym itself should be viewed as possibly Celtic²⁰.

²⁰ **Regina* in two more Procopian toponyms (Μοντερεγίνε and ‘Ριγινοκάστελλον) discussed by M. ZAHARIADE (2011: 139) is most likely Latin. I hope to discuss the whole set of forms in more details elsewhere.

To the North of the Danube: Ancient Dacia and Surrounding Territories (Romania and Slovakia)

There is a certain amount of Celtic and presumably Celtic geographical names which are mentioned for the territory of ancient Dacia by the authors of antiquity. Notably, besides several toponyms of Gaulish origins, a number of linguistically Celtic ethnic names are known in this area. The basic problem in dealing with this set of data is that it is difficult to localize the majority of the geographical names. There is no doubt, however, that they are mainly to be located in the north-western part of modern Romania, for which we have a solid archaeological record of La Tène finds, for the latter see recently RUSTOIU 2011 with further bibliography. Sometimes modern localizations (particularly of tribes with Celtic ethnic names) go beyond the state borders of Romania, which is altogether expected. It is also worth mentioning that the linguistic analysis of this data is sometimes difficult, and in most cases it is impossible to offer a single and all-comprising interpretation of a given geographical name, which does not of course make it non-Celtic.

In south-western Dacia “Ravenna Cosmography” lists a place-name *Canonia* (Rav. IV, 14), which may well be of Celtic linguistic origin. It is important that the Celtic presence in this area is observed archaeologically, and if the place-name is indeed Gaulish, the settlement should be located by a river to suit the meaning ‘place on the reedy river’, to G. **cāno-* ‘reed’ (cf. Welsh *cawn* ‘reed’ of unknown etymology), see FALILEYEV 2007: 27–28. It is important that the Welsh hydronymic nomenclature includes a cognate of the Gaulish word and such river-names as *Conyn* are known, cf. CHARLES 1992: 9. Alternatively, as X. DELAMARRE (2012: 102) maintains, the place-name may go back to a personal name *Cānū*; or a Celtic anthroponym *Cano*, see the discussion offered in MEID 2005: 189–190. This unique and relatively late attestation of the toponym, which may be also Latin in origin, importantly does not constitute significant evidence for a cluster of place-names of Gaulish provenance in this area, and therefore this example should be treated as Celtic with extreme caution.

The other Celtic linguistic traces of Dacia are concentrated in its north-western part of this Roman province and in terms of the modern geographic map are located in the north-western part of Romania, and possibly beyond its borders, particularly in Slovakia. The ethnic name *Anart(i)oi* is known from Caesar (*B.G.* VI, 25 *ad fines Dacorum et Anartium*), Ptolemy (III, 8, 3 "Αναρτοί, var. 'Ανάρτοι in later manuscripts) and epigraphic records, and this tribe is left

unlocated in *BA* Map 21. There are known recent attempts to place the *Anart(i)oi* on the map of the region. Thus I. BOGDAN-CĂTĂNICIU (1990: 230–1) argues that the tribe should not be localized in the area of Satu Mare as was suggested in earlier scholarship, and defines the Criş river as the southern boundary for their *habitat*. V. KRUTA (2000: 413) roughly places the tribe on the bordering territories of modern Slovakia and Hungary, and M. OLĘDZKI (2005: 154 and 2005a) is in favour of its localization in the Upper Tisza basin. Generally, on the basis of the sources at our disposal it is hardly possible to localize this tribe alongside others mentioned in the so called *Elogium of Tusculum*²¹ with any degree of precision, cf. VISY 2004: 958–9 or ALMÁSSY 2009: 253, so territories of western Romania / Slovakia may be roughly indicated here. The hypothesis that the Anartii, as well as the Boii and Volcae inhabited parts of modern Poland, once popular among certain scholars, has been long since criticized, cf. WOŹNIAK 1970: 19–20. This does not affect in any way the linguistic discussion of the ethnic name, which has been considered as Celtic for already more than a century. Although it was sometimes analysed as Iranian and quite rarely as Dacian, it is most likely indeed to be Celtic, and several explanations of the name are available, see FALILEYEV 2007: 21–23. For an apparent fraction of the tribe called by Ptolemy *Anartofracti* and located in the San river basin in modern Poland see above.

The second ethnic name traditionally considered here is *Teurisci*, which is attested in Ptolemy's “Geography” (III, 8, 3) as well as in two Latin inscriptions from Capva in Italy. It was located by I. BOGDAN-CĂTĂNICIU (1990: 230) to the south of the river Someş, but in the Upper Tisza area and a later date by M. OLĘDZKI (2005: 154). According to this scholar, who identifies the Teurisci area with the zone of the Zemplin archaeological culture in modern eastern Slovakia, “they are considered to be a sub-tribe of the *Taurisci*, who were crushed by Burebista and settled in the region of the Tisza relatively late, more or less in the mid-first century BC” (OLĘDZKI 2005a: 150). Historians have been long in favour of the “Celticity” of this tribe, but linguistically it remains a crux. It is likely that the stem found in *Teurisci* is non-Celtic, see above on *Taurunum*. Therefore, its linguistic Celticity depends on the linguistic attribution of the suffix, which may

²¹ [M(arcus) Vinu]ciu[s P(ubli)f(ilius)] / [co(n)s(u)l] XV vir s(acris)f(aciundis) [pr(aetor) q(uaestor)] / [legatus pro] pr(aetore) Augusti Caesaris in [Illyrico] / [primus t]rans flumen Danivium [progressus] / [Dacoru]m et Basternarum exer[citum acie] / [vicit fu] gavitque Cotinos [...] / [...]s et Anarti[os sub potestatem] / [Imp(eratoris) Caesaris A] ugusti [et p(opuli) R(omani) redegit (AE 1905, 14), see further references in FALILEYEV 2007: 21.

be indeed Celtic, but is attested in a considerable amount of languages spoken in ancient Europe, see FALILEYEV 2013a: 86–88.

Of the settlement names relevant for our discussion – and all of them are found within the modern state borders of Romania – it is only *Vicus Anartorum* in the area of the river Criş that is indisputably Celtic, or, to be more precise, descriptive Latin based on the corresponding Celtic ethnic name. The settlement is known from a single inscription (Almaşu Mare, CIL III, 8060), where it is attested in fact as *vico An[artorum]*. Although the amendment suggested by A. v. Domaszewski in CIL is accepted by the majority of academics, the validity of this one and only attestation still may be perhaps questioned. *Certia* (modern Romita) is attested in two spellings, *Cersiae* (TP VII, 3) and *Certie* (var. *cercie* Rav. 4, 7). If in fact *Cert-*, it at least reminds us of probably Celtic place-names in **certi-* (*Certima urbs* in Spain; hydronym *Certisnassa* in Britain and *Certis* in Spain, although its indigenous origin cannot be out of question, of course). See DCC: 98 with further references and note that it, unlike other toponyms discussed in this section, is located in the “Celtic” area. Note also that X. DELAMARRE (2012: 113) takes the place-name also for Celtic and derives it from the personal name *Certios*, which is well attested in Gaul. Similarly, *Rucconion*, which is known only from Ptolemy (III, 8, 4 ‘Roukkóviov) and localized in the Anartian territories, is to be more precisely identified with modern Bologa and its vicinity. It may be recalled here that A. Holder (II: 1239) hesitated between Celtic and Thracian origins for the place-name, and such a hesitation quite expectedly is found also in the works of modern writers. If indeed Celtic, cf. here G. **rucco-* ‘honte, rougeur’ (DLG: 263 s.v.) and note that X. DELAMARRE (2012: 224) analyses it as a possible derivative from a Gaulish anthroponym *Ruccū*. See further FALILEYEV 2007: 21–27 and note that R. ARDEVAN – R. ZĂGREANU (2012) have recently reconstructed the place-name in their reading of a new inscription from Jebucu (Sălaj area), *vici [Rucco]ni(i)*, which, if is correct, provides us with the second attestation of the toponym.

As we have seen, dealing with the relevant Celtic linguistic data from ancient Dacia we occasionally have to cross the borders of modern Romania and, in particular, deal with the territory of Slovakia. This country is known for its archaeological records traditionally associated with a Celtic presence, namely vestiges of La Tène culture. These are thoroughly discussed by Slovak archaeologists in a considerable amount of publications, and the illuminating monograph by K. PIETA (2010) remains an indispensable guide to the archaeological aspect of the question. The western part of Slovakia is

traditionally associated with the Celtic Boii discussed above in conjunction with the Celtic presence in modern Czech Republic. There are several La Tène *oppida* in this part of the country, and also in the Slovak capital, Bratislava (in Bratislava Castle and in Devín, the borough of Bratislava, see PIETA 2010: 117–118), but unfortunately we are not aware of their names in antiquity. It may be interesting to note in parenthesis that archaeologists label the settlement in Bratislava castle as *Arx Boiorum*, cf. the title of the recent archaeological discussion by M. MUŠILOVÁ (2010). More relevant for the present discussion is the linguistic analysis of the modern toponym *Devín*. Although it is most probably of Slavic origins, some scholars admit its pre-Slavic provenance, see LUTTERER *et al.* 1982: 83. In this case a reference to Celtic **dēvo-* ‘god’, see SIMS-WILLIAMS 2006: 70–71 and DCC: 17, may be appropriate. However, the simplex is normally used to denote river-names, and although the settlement is located at the confluence of the Danube and Morava and hence may be in theory derived from a hydronym, it is very questionable whether any of these river-names, for which see above, had this doublet nomination.

Notwithstanding the obvious lack of undeniably Celtic geographical names in the area, there is some quite unique Celtic linguistic data known from the region. This is of course Celtic personal names attested in coin-legends minted locally. The first hoard of silver *Biatec*-coins was unearthed in Bratislava in 1776, and these finds have been in the focus of research. This data has been thoroughly analysed, see KOLNIKOVÁ 1991 for an extremely useful discussion of the data from modern Bratislava. For recent historical and numismatic discussion of the “Celtic” coins in Slovakia one should *inter alia* consult the Slovakian journals *Slovenská numizmatika* and *Slovenská archeológia* which contain a considerable number of extra-class discussions of the question, cf. e.g., KOLNIKOVÁ 2004. The linguistic aspect of the coin legends has been comprehensively studied by H. BIRKHAN (1971), and his conclusions are normally accepted in the modern academic literature. Indeed, such personal names as *Bussumarus*, *Iantumarus* or *Cobrovomarus* found on the coins cannot be anything but Celtic linguistically. The interpretation of the earliest coin-legend, however, caused a certain dispute: T. MARKEY (2001) denied the existence of *rex Biatec* and suggested its interpretation not as a personal name, but rather as a phrase **bia-tei-kʷe* > *biatēk* (BIATEC) ‘and for striking’ = ‘and (ready) for striking’. As far as I can see, this interpretation is not widely accepted, and we find *Biatec* in the list of Celtic personal names by X. DELAMARRE (2007: 41).

Archaeologists also tentatively claim that apart from the Boii, the Norican tribes may have left their marks in the archaeological landscape of the area (see ČAMBAL *et al.* 2013). The finds of Eraviscan coins in Slovakia may of course witness economic contacts, but a certain Eraviscan (for this tribal name see above) presence in the area is not out of question, of course. Further east we find another most probably Celtic – at least by name – tribe, the *Cotini*, whose *habitat* has been long associated with Slovakia and identified with the area of the so-called Púchov culture, cf. e.g., KRUTA 2000: 699 or OLĘDZKI 2005: 161. Formerly it has been associated with the vast territories of modern Poland, but this view is untenable, see already WOŹNIAK 1970: 19. However, more recent studies allow for such an approach, cf. “les éléments de la culture de Púchov, typique pour la partie montagneuse de la Slovaquie, apparaissent aussi à la phase LT C2 i LT D1 dans la Vallée de Żywiec et dans la Vallée de Sącz” (BOCHNAK 2007: 35). As for the direct identification of the Cotini with the Púchov culture, one should definitely consult the fundamental work by K. PIETA (1982), in which the latter is systematically analysed. As the author is remarkably very cautious in the judgements pertaining to any associations of material culture with “ethnic” entities, and as there is still a perceptible geographical correlation between the Cotini as mentioned by the ancient authors and the areal of Púchov culture, his conclusions are very tentative and worth quoting *verbatim*:

“Die einfache Identifizierung beider Informationskreise muß man jedoch aus folgenden Gründen vermeiden: a) Es kann nicht bewiesen werden, daß die Kotiner der einzige Stamm oder Stammesteil mit latènezeitlicher materieller Kulur waren, der sich in den Bergen der Nord- und Mittelslowakei niedergelassen hat. b) Ein großer Teil der Púchov-Enklave ist bislang unerforscht und kann darüber keine näheren Informationen bieten. Außerdem handelt es sich um ein Gebiet, in welchem die Kotiner lokalisiert zu werden pflegen (Grental). c) Zur Vorsicht bei der Gleichung Ethnikum = konkrete materielle Kultur mahnen uns mehrere historische Beispiele anderssprachiger Träger der keltischen Kultur“ (PIETA 1982: 212).

The prolific archaeologist of course admits a possibility of this ethnic / material correlation, see PIETA 1982: 213 and cf. PIETA 2009, PIETA 2010: 58–68, with further references for the recent work on Púchov culture. For our purposes the probability of the location of the Cotini in modern Slovakian territories (and small

enclaves in Poland) will suffice: this localization could be only roughly outlined, as ancient authors do not go in its details, and the borders of the Cotini, be it a tribe or a tribal union, must have been changing in time and space.

As for its linguistic evidence, it should be reminded that the ethnic name is mentioned by Tacitus in his *Germania*, Dio Cassius in *Historia Romana* (71,12,3) and Ptolemy in his *Geography*, and is also attested in epigraphical sources, see references in DCC: 110²². The most important testimony is provided by Tacitus (*Germ.* 43),

Cotinos Gallica, Osos Pannonica lingua coarguit non esse Germanos “the Cotini and the Osi are not Germans: that is proved by their languages, Celtic in the one case, Pannonian in the other”

and this statement has been long considered in favour of the linguistic Celticity of the ethnic name, see SCHWARZ 1961: 33–5 and particularly GUYONVARC'H 1971. The tribal name is considered Celtic in many works, cf. KOCH *et al.* 2007 or ZAWADZKI 2009: 122. The other tribe mentioned by Tacitus in this fragment, the *Osi*, has been affiliated – linguistically and “ethnically” – differently in the history of the scholarship. See ANREITER 2001: 97–98 and G. NEUMANN in *RGA* 22 (2003), 311–312; note also important discussions in ADAMIK 2003: 264–5, VISY 1993: 7–8 and COLOMBO 2010: 194–5.

Attempts are known, however, to argue for the non-Celtic linguistic attribution of the name of the Cotini, which are also prompted by a variant reading in Tacitus, *got(h)ini*, and which may trigger immediate Germanic associations. The Dacian provenance of the name has been also suggested (cf. VISY 1993: 9), but this approach is set upon a number of probably unrelated historically forms, on which see FALILEYEV 2007: 27. More relevant is a possibility of seeing in it a Pannonian name: P. ANREITER (2001: 212–3) traces it to Pan. *kōtiā* ‘Wohnraum, Hütte’ < PIE *kōt-, cf. Old Norse *kot* ‘schlechte Hütte’, Gothic *heþjo* ‘Kammer’, and adds: “vielleicht jedoch um einen echt-keltischen Stammesnamen, da die Wurzel *Cot-* Bestandteil einiger Namen ist, die in altkeltischen Regionen auftraten...”; cf. also SITZMANN – GRÜNZWEIG 2008: 105. It is understandable that one cannot be entirely sure in the ultimate linguistic affiliation of the name, but as P. SIMS-WILLIAMS (2006: 193) admits, it “can be reasonably be agreed to be Celtic in

²² There is also a ongoing dispute whether the coin-legend CAT belongs here or not, see PIETA 1982: 212–3 and KOLNIKOVÁ 2004: 39.

view of Tacitus' comment on their *Gallica.... lingua*"; for the possibly underlying Gaulish stem which denotes 'old' (cf. semantically the tribal name *Senones* < **seno-* 'old', see further on the semantic aspect of this nomination DE BERNARDO STEMPEL 2008: 108 and cf. DE BERNARDO STEMPEL 2000: 87) see DCC: 16 with further references. It should also be borne in mind that the ethnic name could be meaningful for the speakers of Celtic. The place-name *Eburum*, which may be also of Celtic origin is sometimes localised in this area, as in BERTHEAU 2002: 32, for this see above. The fact that the allegedly Celtic-speaking *Cotini* are not associated with the La Tène archaeological complex is in no way disturbing: as one may immediately recall the correlation of the speakers of the so-called Lepontic language, the linguistic Celtness of which cannot be denied, with the Golasseca culture.

Generally, the linguistic data from Slovakia, however, is regrettably extremely restricted. Historical sources unfortunately did not record geographical names of undeniable Celtic origin: place-names like *Eborodunum* or *Mediolanum* are unknown in this territory. What we have at our disposal is a set of geographical names which may, at least at face-value, allow a Celtic linguistic interpretation, but may be well assigned to a different idiom. Thus, for example, the river name *Duria* (Pliny HN IV, 81) traditionally located within this area and associated with modern Váh in BA²³, is of course consistent with the Celtic data in *dur-* (for corresponding settlement names see e.g., SIMS-WILLIAMS 2006: 75–78, DCC: 18 and 116–117, or DELAMARRE 2012: 144–145), but is extremely likely to be non-Celtic, see already SCHWARZ 1961: 28–29 and cf. CURCHIN 2007: 141 for a discussion of *Durius flumen* in Lusitania which has been assigned to different idioms. Similarly, the river-name *Cusus* (Tac. Ann. 2, 63, 6), which is sometimes identified with *Duria* but is also treated separately and is equated with modern Ipel in BA, but with Váh or Hron in MARSINA 1998: 306, is most probably non-Celtic, cf. the discussion of the place-name *Cusum* above and see GREULE 2007: 35 for *comparanda* from Western Europe, for which cf. also UDOLPH 2004: 133–134. *Granuas*, the ancient name of Hron, which is not Celtic, is discussed in ANREITER 2001: 243–4, cf. also VARSIK 1990: 51. The comparison of Váh with Gaulish forms in **uago-* tentatively suggested by A. SHAPOSHNIKOV (2012: 217) is superfluous and, as may be mentioned in parenthesis, the Gaulish word is itself problematic, see DELAMARRE 2012: 257.

²³ Váh, Hron or Iplu in DOBIÁŠ 1964: 151, Váh or Hron in MARSINA 1998: 308. References to the earlier works on the ancient hydronymy of the area are usefully collected in DOBIÁŠ 1964: 11 and 163.

There are quite a few excavated settlements in Slovakia which were inhabited at the turn of the eras. Unfortunately, we have at our disposal only a very restricted amount of place-names recorded in antiquity and pertaining to this area. Moreover, the majority of these settlement names, with a number of exceptions of course, are not exactly localized, or are localized differently by various scholars. Some of them at least allow a Celtic approach, and, at face-value, may be analysed as Gaulish. Still another problem when dealing with these place-names arises from the fact that we are not aware exactly what languages were spoken in the area prior to the arrival of the Celtic-speaking settlers. It is very probable though that in certain areas a form of ‘Pannonian’ / ‘Illyrian’ was in use. Particularly, the areas near to the Danube, which should not be seen as a dividing border but rather a means of communications, may belong here in view of the ‘Pannonians’ dwelling in the territory of modern northern Hungary. It has been also suggested, that the ‘Pannonian’ tribe Osi was located in modern Slovakia, for this see above. As far as I am aware, though, the bearers of this language (languages) are not straightforwardly identified in archaeological records, which is of course perfectly understandable. Archaeologists, in turn, speak of a “Dacian-Celtic horizon” in their records (cf. PIETA 2010: 46–54, see also KOCH *et al.* 2007: 28), and with all these uncertainties it is difficult, or, rather, impossible, to offer a singular linguistic attribution of a given place-name. Moreover, our poor knowledge of Dacian and ‘Pannonian’ presents an additional and unsurmountable difficulty. The data of these languages will be quoted below in the discussion of the toponyms. However, and this point should be stressed, the adduced parallels in no way should be considered decisive for the linguistic affiliation of the place-names, and the image of the “long arm of coincidence” should be always borne in mind. On top of that it should be acknowledged that archaeologists enumerate various archaeological cultures which existed in the territory of modern Slovakia prior to the coming of the La Tène bearers, who certainly were not arriving into a linguistic vacuum (cf. PIETA 2010: 20). This does not make toponymic observations simpler, of course, as the linguistic affiliations of these cultures are also in turn problematic, controversial or even impossible. Thus, the so-called Vekerzug group, which is sometimes associated with Scythians, must then be Iranian in language, but we do not find a single toponym in antiquity which could safely be interpreted as Iranian.

There are only two settlements in antiquity which could be unproblematically localized in the territory of modern Slovakia, and both at some point have been considered Celtic. *Calamantia* / *Celamantia* is recorded only by Ptolemy (II,

11,15, Καλαμαντία, var. Κελεμαντία, Κελαμαντία, MÜLLER 1883: 373) and is securely identified with Iža (close to Komárno) facing across the Danube the Celtic *Brigetio* in modern Hungary (for which see above), cf. e.g., already SIMONYI 1948: 133 and cf. ZAWADZKI 2009: 139–140. The settlement has been long in the centre of attention of archaeologists, cf. KUZMOVÁ – RAJTÁR 1986. From the point of view of place-names studies, however, *Calamantia* / *Celemantia* is problematic. It has been noted by G. RASCH (2005: 202) that the exact reading of the first part of the toponym is disputable; he himself thinks that the form preserved in Codex Vaticanus X (see above for the tribal name *Britolagi* known only from this manuscript), i.e. *Calamantia* is most probable. K. MÜLLER (1883: 373) takes for the head-word the form *Celamantia*, and it is found in quite a few publications, cf. e.g., BA Map 20 or STÜCKELBERGER – GRASSHOFF 2006: 234. This variation presents of course a great difficulty for the etymological treatment and linguistic affiliation of the toponym, the morphological structure of which is also not altogether clear. Thus, G. RASCH (2005: 202) admitted its ‘Illyrian’ (in modern terms, rather “Old European”) provenance, suggesting a possible derivation from a river-name **Calm-antia*. Topographically this is problematic, as the settlement is located on the river Danube, and its confluence with Váh is some 4 km away. Technically, however, the ‘Illyrian’ (resp. Pannonian) origin of the place-name cannot be ruled out, as we know for sure that it was the language spoken at some point at least just across the Danube. Indeed, the toponym cannot but remind us of Pannonian *Celena*, although its treatment as ‘Siedlung auf dem Hügel’ by P. ANREITER (2001: 50–51) is not semantically applicable to *Calamantia* / *Celemantia* which is located on a flat ground (see the photo on the back cover). However, *Celena* itself is not localized, and, moreover, A. MAYER (1959: 61–2), apart from reconstructing ‘Illyrian’ **kelenā* ‘Hügel’, advocates the presence of two etymologically unrelated words **kel-* reflected in ‘Illyrian’ onomastics. A Dacian (resp. Thraco-Dacian) approach to the place-name is also in theory not impossible: forms like Κελλαῖ, Κελεββαι and Μαντα, Μαντη (DETSCHEW 1976: 238 and 286–7) are known in the corpus, although of course these parallels may be well superfluous.

Various rather sceptical comments on the linguistic attribution of the toponym are known; note also references to the earlier literature in DOBIÁŠ 1964: 12. One may consider various degrees uncertainty expressed by G. R. ISAAC (2004, s. v. *Kelamantia*) and E. SCHWARZ (1961: 40), for whom the place-name is rather pre-Celtic, or the comment by P. SIMS-WILLIAMS (2006: 211) who maintains that this toponym is “a dubious example of Celtic *mant-*”. The place-name is treated

as Celtic by X. DELAMARRE (2012: 112, 2010–12: 114), who derives it from the corresponding unattested personal name **Cēli-mantios*. On top of that, Gaulish **mant-* ‘path’ is certainly attested in place-names, see SIMS-WILLIAMS 2006: 90–91 and DCC: 24 (needless to add that the modern Slavic hydronym *Mánta* in Slovakia (for which see VARSIK 1990: 129–30) is linguistically not related), as well as **celo-* or **calo-* (DCC: 14 and 138), and therefore this “Celtic” approach to the name is not entirely impossible, cf. DCC: 138. However, we do not have an exact unproblematic morphological parallel for such a formation, although see DCC: 48 s. v. *Andematunnum*. Moreover, similar looking toponyms are sometimes most probably not-Celtic, cf. e.g., *Ladamantia* near Ras Abu Hasafa in Egypt, and indeed P. SIMS-WILLIAMS (2006: 91) aptly notes the existence of a similar-looking Greek *manteion* ‘oracle’.

It is also worth reminding that parallels to the name of this settlement are in fact known. Thus, modern Kallmünz in Bavaria has been traced to the unattested **Kalamantia* and declared Celtic, cf. recently GREULE 2010: 10, who also quotes its Latin explanation, *Celio Monte*. There are more place-names which go back to this proto-form in Austria and parts of Germany, and these have been meticulously surveyed by G. HOLZER (2008: 31–33), who also noted in this respect the ancient name of the Roman fort at Iža. The author refers to various attempts of linguistic attribution of the underlying form in the history of the toponymic studies, including Celtic. There is also some evidence of extra-linguistic nature to support the Celtic approach to its treatment – Kallmünz in Oberpfalz, Germany, is located at the place of an earlier La Tène settlement, HOLZER 2008: 32. Therefore, a Celtic approach to the analysis of *Calamantia* / *Celemantia* is theoretically admissible. However, the absence of similar place-names in the “Celtic west” on the one hand, and their rather compact occurrence in Central Europe on the other raises serious questions against such an assumption. As we are not aware of a peculiar onomastic “Central European Celtic area” different from others, both east and west, on balance it is safer to consider this particular example as non- Celtic in origin, although perfectly meaningful in a Gaulish linguistic context.

While the Roman fort *Calamantia* / *Celemantia* was founded in 171–175 AD on a previously uninhabited place (KUZMOVÁ – RAJTÁR 1986), the second settlement to be discussed here has a long history. Archaeological research shows that Rusovce, now a district of Bratislava, where the ancient *Gerulata* is located, was inhabited since the Bronze Age. “Eastern Hallstatt” and La Tène (C-D1) finds are also associated with this area, see SCHMIDTOVA 2006: 133–34. The place-name is known from several sources (*Gerulata* IA 247, 3, *Gerulatis* TP,

Gerolate ND occ. 34, 10) and refers to the Roman fort founded at the times of Domitian (SCHMIDTOVA 2006: 134). Attempts of X. DELAMARRE (2012: 158) to claim linguistic Celticity for *Gerulata* (note also the identical toponym in Moesia Superior mentioned above), interesting as they are, are nonetheless most probably wrong as the place-names should be considered together with other toponyms in *-ta* which are mostly founded in the “Illyrian” territories, see FALILEYEV 2013: 72 and cf. FALILEYEV 2013b: 299–301. If it is not in fact Pannonian, a Dacian perspective of the analysis may be allowed by the parallel of Γέρραι (a tribal name located on the Danube, see DETSCHEW 1976: 103), which is of course does look rather coincidental.

Other place-names which may be Celtic or which have been considered as such are not precisely localized, and certain scholars are in favour of placing them beyond Slovakian borders. The most famous of them is perhaps *Leukaristos* which is attested only in Ptolemy’s “Geography” (II, 11, 13 Λευκάριστος MÜLLER 1883: 271, STÜCKELBERGER – GRASSHOFF 2006: 232). In earlier scholarship the settlement was sought in south-eastern Germany and eastern Bohemia, see references in RASCH 2005: 63 and ZAWADZKI 2009: 140–143. Later it was associated with Staré Hradisko near Prostějov (ŘEHÁK – KVĚT 1993: 190, 2002: 52) in the modern Czech Republic, while J. BERTHEAU (2002: 38) locates it by the river Löcknitz in Germany. For a long time, however, the place-name has been equated with *Laugaricio* known from a Latin inscription from Trenčín (CIL III, 13439), and also with *Leugaricione* mentioned in an inscription from North Africa (AE 1956, 124). Therefore, this settlement is associated with modern Trenčín in western Slovakia (Váh river valley), and this is a view expressed by quite a few scholars, see e.g., DOBIÁŠ 1962, MARSINA 1998: 319 or KOLENDU 2009–2010: 81–2, where we also find attempts to reconcile variations in its spelling, which also take into account various linguistic intermediaries. Although this seems to be a mainstream view on the problem, certain dissenting views are known also. Note, for example, that BA Map 13 identifies *Laugaricio* from the Latin inscription with Trenčín with a question mark and does not consider in this equation the Ptolemaic form; for the history of the scholarship see references in RASCH 2005: 63 and DOBIÁŠ 1962: 405–408.

Several linguistic attributions of the toponym are known, and Celtic is as expected one of them. Indeed, we find this place-name among the *Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz* collected by A. Holder (II: 1914), and this linguistic affiliation is advocated also in some recent works. Thus, V. BLAŽEK (2010: 29–30) analyses Λευκάριστος as definitely Celtic in view of British *Leucaro*, which he equates

with Welsh *Cas Llychwr*, and the Gaulish place-name *Leuceris*, with *-isto-* as a superlative marker. It goes without saying that place-names in *leuco-* are known in Gaulish and indeed the ancient name of Lecco in Italy quoted by Blažek, if this identification is correct, may belong here, see DCC: 22 and 146. As for *Leucarum*, if it shares this etymology, it must be viewed rather as a derivative from a hydronym, and its connection with Welsh *Casllwchwr* must be secondarily, see RIVET – SMITH 1979: 388–89 with further references. The morphonological pattern of *Leukaristos* as advocated by Blažek seems to find parallel in Celtic, as the superlative suffix indeed is attested in Gaulish toponyms, see DCC s.vv. *Bonisana*, *Segesamunculum*, *Segisamo*, *Segisama Iulia*, *Uxama (Argaela)*, *Uxantis Ins.* The suffix *-isto-* is not itself unknown, cf. DCC: 73, 138, 218–19 for ethnic names *Bergistani*, *Karistoi* and *Tolistobogioi* and see also below. As we can see, the epigraphic attestations are not considered in this research.

Λευκάριστος and *Laugaricio* are considered together, although tentatively, by X. DELAMARRE (2012: 175), who notably treats *Leucaro* separately. The French scholar derives *Leukaristos* from an unattested personal name **Leuc(o)-ari-dso-* (in view of the personal name *Arixus*, etc., <*(p)r*Hi*-sth₂-o- ‘qui se tient devant’). A similar etymology in fact was suggested by J. DOBIÁŠ (1962: 411), who thought of **leuk-ari-stos* in view of *Ari-conium* and *Aricus*. This etymology cannot but be difficult. X. Delamarre also refers to **louco-ritiū-*, which he illustrates by *Laugaricio* attested in the inscription from Trenčín (DELAMARRE 2012: 182); this entry is cross-referenced back to *Leukaristos*. These manipulations are difficult to account for, also in view of the fact that *c* for *t* is a common mistake in manuscripts (KOLEND 2009–2010: 81), but not in epigraphic sources. However, a Gaulish etymology for Λευκάριστος and the forms which have been claimed to be related is in theory feasible. In theory this place name, which does not seem to have exact parallels elsewhere, may go back to the famous Celtic **leuco-*, *lucu-* ‘bright, open’ (DCC: 22) as in *Lucunanta*, for which see below, or reflect, say, Common Celtic **lawgo-* ‘prize, price’ (MATASOVIĆ 2009: 234 and 398). For the second part of this alleged compounded name cf. **rico-* ‘furrow’? (DCC: 29), or even **rīgo-*, for which see above. However, this rather mechanical drawing of the linguistically Celtic components together does not make the meaning of the place-name clear. It should be also taken into consideration that *-au-* remains a rare diphthong in Gaulish (see GPN: 395–96 and SCHRIJVER 1995: 194f.), and, moreover, if the place-name recorded in the Latin inscription from North Africa is in fact identical with *Leukaristos*, discrepancies in vocalism should be addressed.

Discussing the place-name Λευκάριστος P. SIMS-WILLIAMS (2006: 199) aptly reminds us that the stem **louco-* is wide spread in other IE languages other than Celtic, and it may be added that the same may be said about the suffixal derivation. It is not surprising therefore that the toponym has been assigned to languages other than Celtic: Germanic, “Illyrian” and Greek are already suggested, see DOBIÁŠ 1962: 408–414, DOBIÁŠ 1964: 13 and ISAAC 2004, s.v. *Leukáristos*. It has been also maintained that the place-name may go back to a personal name, see already KRAHE 1946: 218 and RASCH 2005: 180; cf. also BABIK 2001: 140–141. This uncertainty in the linguistic attribution of the place-name, apart from a range of uncertainties any scholar immediately faces when dealing with the question, is also rooted in the early history of the area where we well may find the speakers of Celtic, Germanic and Pannonian. On balance, it seems impossible to prove the linguistic Celticity of the name without counterarguments, and its treatment as non-Celtic by P. SIMS-WILLIAMS (2006: 193) remains a most attractive option.

There are more possible Celtic place-names in the area. ’Ανδουαίτιον (var. ’Ανδουέτιον) which is recorded in Ptolemy (II, 11. 15, MÜLLER 1883: 275, Stückelberger, GRASSHOFF 2006: 234) is possibly located somewhere to the west of the ancient *Brigetio* (for which see above), although its exact location is unknown, see R. Wenskus in *RGA* 1 (1973), 279. Modern Andovce (Hungarian Andód) is quoted in this respect (KLEINEBERG *et al.* 2010: 60) but this is most likely to be coincidental²⁴, also taking into consideration that this village is in fact in Nové Zámky District, east of Bratislava and north of *Brigetio*. There is no certainty of course that the settlement should be located in the territory of modern Slovakia at all. The toponym, at least in theory, may claim a Celtic etymology. Thus, G. R. ISAAC (2004 s.v. *Andouaítion*) segments the place-name as **ando-ouo-eto-io*, and this may raise some “Celtic hopes” as far as the first component is concerned, for it see *loc. cit.*, Celtic Elements, s.v. P. DE BERNARDO STEMPFL (2008a: 190) tentatively suggests that the form preserved by Ptolemy conceals Celtic **Andbaxtiom* ‘the town of the subjects’, though she admits that “the semantics is not easy”. If -v- stands here for the original -μ-, the form may remind us of a possibly Celtic *Andomatis*, for which see SIMS-WILLIAMS 2006: 295 fn. 52. However, there seems to be no need at all to stretch the toponym on the Procrustean bed of Celtic linguistics: for the non-Celtic discussion of it (Dacian, Illyrian) see references in DOBIÁŠ 1964: 12 or RASCH 2005: 15 and 179.

²⁴ The modern name attested first in 1421, as Dr Milan Harvalík kindly informs me, has the Slovak suffix and is derived from the Hungarian or Slovak personal name.

'Αρσικούα (Ptol. II, 11, 14) has been located variously in the history of scholarship. Quite a few academics locate it in the territory of modern Slovakia. Thus, already D. SIMONYI (1948: 136) suggests its association with the Hallstatt settlements in Partizánske District in the Trenčín Region of western Slovakia, for which see above. According to S. ŘEHÁK – R. KVĚT (1993: 190 and 2002: 50), it should be identified with modern Nitra, where indeed we find a settlement associated with a Celtic presence archaeologically, cf. PIETA 2010: 118, and this may in theory add one more Celtic toponym in the territory. Still another its localization – in Eastern Slovakia near Zemplín (BERTHEAU 2002: 32) – also corresponds La Tène archaeological finds and settlements, cf. PIETA 2010: 25–32. In other paleogeographic reconstructions the neighbouring Slovakia areas are suggested, e.g., Morava valley in Moravia (RASCH 2005: 19) or Mistelbach an der Zaya in Lower Austria close to the Slovakian border (KLEINEBERG *et al.* 2010: 56).

The place-name has been long at least suspected to be Celtic in origin, cf. DAG: 1208, while forms in *ars-* are collected in Holder I: 222 and III: 691–2. Most recently X. DELAMARRE (2012: 61) has suggested its derivation from an unattested Gaulish personal name *Arsicuos* which he interprets as **ar-secu-o-* and compares its second component with the river name *Sequana*. It should be recalled, however, that the river-name is linguistically problematic (cf. DCC: 203), while both vocalism and consonantism in this derivation require explanations. Note that Holder III: 691 lists a similar looking place-name *Arsicius*, but this is in fact a reconstruction based on a modern toponym in France, and could well be erroneous, for various views see BILLY 2011: 74–75 s.v. *Arcis-sur-Aube*. Moreover, Ptolemaic 'Αρσικούα has been analysed as "Illyrian", see RASCH 2005: 19 and 172 with further references, although the parallels adduced within this approach are rather convincing. For a (Thraco-)Dacian perspective cf. perhaps Αρσα (DETSCHEW 1976: 27), or even the hydronym "Apčoč", for which see a comprehensive discussion by S. YANAKIEVA (2009: 30–31). For the second component, it should be remarked that toponyms in *kova* seem to be attested in Thracian (DETSCHEW 1976: 262), and a putative Dacian **kwa-* 'water' has been restored in the earlier scholarship (cf. RASCH 2005: 172), but all this remains rather unattractive guess-work. Moreover, there may also be questions regarding its exact location, as it has been localized beyond the borders of Slovakia, and generally speaking the linguistic Celticity of the toponym and its relevance for this discussion should be strongly queried.

A more likely candidate for a Celtic place name in modern Slovakia is Παρίεννα (Ptol. II, 11, 14). This geographical association of the place-name has been long suspected, cf. RASCH 2005: 79, and indeed various particular locations have been offered. Thus, D. SIMONYI (1948: 136) equates Parienna with Nemecké Právno (now Nitrianske Pravno) in the Trenčín Region of western Slovakia. Following S. ŘEHÁK – R. KVĚT (1993: 190 and 2002: 52), the place-name should be associated with Topoľčany (Nitra area) or Bánovce nad Bebravou (Trenčín region). Still in a different work (BERTHEAU 2002: 32) it is identified with Párnica in the Zilina Region of northern Slovakia. However, the toponym is identified with Břeclav in modern Czech Republic by A. KLEINEBERG *et al.* (2010: 56); this town in South Moravia is very close to the Slovakian border, anyway.

As expected we find the Gaulish linguistic attribution of the toponym in Holder II: 932, and most recently in ISAAC 2004, Celtic Elements, s.v. **pario-* ‘cauldron’, with this example as a sole illustration. The ‘cauldron’ interpretation, as is known, is accepted by quite a few scholars in their treatment of the undisputedly Gaulish tribal name *Parisii*. It should be observed, however, that the ‘cauldron’ hypothesis is not accepted by certain academics (see DCC: 180 and cf. FALILEYEV 2007a: 246), and one may cast doubts if the semantics are appropriate for the naming of the town. The latter is of course more a rhetorical question, as a possibility of ‘(town famous for its) cauldron(s)’ cannot be *a priori* ruled out. A Celtic approach to the treatment of the toponym is exercised also by X. DELAMARRE (2012: 213), who traces the place-name to a corresponding although unattested personal name. It should also be considered that quite a few scholars saw in it an “Illyrian” toponym in view of the personal name *Paris*, which is also importantly attested as a component of compounded anthroponyms (*Asso-paris*, *Voltu-paris*), and which “Illyrian” origins cannot be therefore denied, see MAYER 1959: 87–88, RASCH 2005: 195, and cf. FALILEYEV, forthcoming. If a Thraco-Dacian “horizon” should be considered in the possible linguistic attribution of the place-names of the area, one may consider Thracian *para* probably denoting ‘town’ and used as a second part of Thracian compounds (DETSCHEW 1976: 356–7).

Σετούια, which is sometimes located in Slovakia, cf. already Simonyi 1948: 135 for Kysucké Nové Mesto near Zilin, or S. ŘEHÁK – R. KVĚT (2002: 52) for Trenčín, may in theory be relevant for this discussion, although its “Illyrian” provenance is more likely, while Ptolemaic Καλισία, if indeed in Slovakia, is linguistically problematic, for these see above.

Further East: Republic of Moldova and Western Ukraine

The next conglomerate of place-names which at least allows a Celtic approach is located along the banks of the Dniester. One of them, in the Upper Dniester area, is localized safely in the territory of the modern (western) Ukraine, the rest are found in the Republic of Moldova (*Map 4*). The toponyms in question are mentioned only once in the following passage of the *Geography* by Ptolemy (III, 5, 15):

$\hat{\nu}\pi\acute{e}\rho \delta\acute{e} \tau\acute{o}\nu \Tau\rho\alpha\nu \pi\o\tau\alpha\mu\acute{o}\nu \pi\rho\acute{o}\varsigma \tau\hat{\eta} \Delta\kappa\acute{\iota}\alpha$

Καρρόδοννον	$\mu\theta'\Lambda''$	$\mu\eta'\gamma o''$
Μαιτόνιον	$v\alpha'$	$\mu\eta'\Lambda''$
Κληπίδανα	$v\beta'\Lambda''$	$\mu\eta'\gamma o''$
Οὐιβαντανάριον	$v\gamma'\Lambda''$	$\mu\eta'\gamma o''$
"Ηρακτον	$v\gamma'\gamma''\Lambda''$	$\mu\eta'\gamma o''$

Apart from *Clepidava* (localized to the north of modern Rîbnița) which has been long identified as a Daco-Getic name with a diagnostically Getic *-dava* and has been associated with the indigenous tribe Costobocii (cf. DETSCHEW 1967: 248), the other toponyms mentioned in this passage are either definitely Celtic or at least allow a Celtic approach. *Carrodunum* which is identified with Kam'yanets'-Podils'kyy in modern Ukraine is definitely Celtic, “Fort of Chariots”; for its different interpretation, which is hardly correct, see above. *Maetonium*, which is safely associated with the settlement Rud' near modern Otaci in the Republic of Moldova, if indeed Celtic and not Iranian as commonly suspected, may go back to *me:t- < *meit-, cf. W *mwyd* ‘steeping, soaking’, cf. OI *moith* ‘tender, soft’. For a settlement located on the bank of a river this semantic motivation is unproblematic, see further FALILEYEV 2007: 17–18, and note the comparison with Metaris in Britain offered in KOCH *et al.* 2007: 28. The most recent etymology of the place-name suggested by V. BLAŽEK (2012: 12), who derives the toponym from *mat(i/o)-abon- ‘good river’, in view of Celtic *mati-/*mato- ‘good’ & *abon- ‘river’, seems to be rather *ad hoc*. *Vibantavarium* (Οὐιβαντανάριον, with a variant -ταύριον in Vaticanus Graecus 191 and -ταβάριον in two secondary manuscripts) is most recently associated with the Rîbnița area of the Republic of Moldova. It has been considered Germanic, but according to L. RÜBEKEIL (2002: 395–96), the suggested reconstruction is “unsicher”. If the place-name

is in fact Celtic, it may be analysed as a compound with the second component **(-)varia-* ‘enclosure, defence’ or a derivative from Celtic **uaro-* ‘river’, **uar-ia* which may denote ‘river settlement’ *vel. sim.* The first component may reflect PIE **ueih₁-* ‘umwickeln, umhüllen’, which is indeed attested in Celtic toponymy (see ISAAC 2004, Celtic Elements, s.v. *uiuo-* ‘enclosure’). This derivation is semantically very attractive, as then the first part of the compound refers either to a bend of the river, or to the character of the settlement, as there are no doubts that all the settlements of the area mentioned by Ptolemy on the Tyras had massive defensive structures (cf. in this respect Ir. *-fen* ‘to enclose, to fence’). However, there are still certain although not unsurmountable problems with this etymology, see further FALILEYEV 2007: 18–20. And, finally, *ERACTUM* (“Нрактov, with a variant spelling in the XV c. Vaticanus Palatinus Graecus 314, for which see BURRI 2013: 465–73, and certain secondary manuscripts “Нрактov), which, nowadays associated with the Răut-Dniester area in the Republic of Moldova, may also be of Celtic origin. It can possibly be derived from **er-* identified with G. *eri-* (< IE **peri-* IEW: 810f., for the semantics cf. a place-name *Remedotia* above) and a participle of G. **ag-* ‘to go’. If this approach is correct *ERACTUM* denotes a ‘(place) of the far-gone ones’, which makes perfect sense for a foremost eastern Gaulish settlement, see further FALILEYEV 2007: 17. In view of this analysis the most recent suggestion of V. BLAŽEK (2012: 12) to see in this place-name **ei-rak(a)ton* < **epi-(p)rak-(p)atom*, in view of Old Breton *rac* ‘devant’, Welsh *rhagu* ‘I get before, I oppose’ does not look altogether attractive.

As for the explanation of the emergence of the Celtic place-names along the Dniester, the following remarks may be made. There is no evidence provided by the authors of antiquity about the presence of Celtic-speaking people(s) in this area. Archaeological finds, traditionally associated with the Celts, be it La Tène artefacts or numismatic evidence, are fairly stray and comparatively not impressive. It has been noted, however, that “the valley of the Dniester and the north-west of the territory seem to correspond to an intermediate area, representative of small Celtic groups settling during LT C, or a place of numerous and privileged contacts between the La Tène culture populations and the natives” (CLERC 2009: 72). Further south not a single “traditional Celtic settlement” (whatever this might be!) has been unearthed in the region, and most of the sites normally considered in conjunction of the discussed toponyms are viewed as Getic or otherwise are connected with the *Poieniști-Lukaševka* archaeological culture. The latter is normally associated with the Bastarnae (for which cf. SITZMANN – GRÜNZWEIG 2008: 53–55) known to occupy these lands after 200 BC and possibly Celtic-

speaking at this time, at least partially. The evidence generally cited to prove this point is Livy's evidence (Livy XL. 58), who in his account of the events happening ca. 180 BC, noted that they are "similar in language and customs" to the Scordisci. Of course this statement cannot but just open the question of the language, or, rather, languages, used by Bastarnae, as nowadays we do not trust the ancient authors providing such comments as wholeheartedly as was once accepted. Most scholars draw in this respect attention to the name of one of their leaders, known from Livy, which of course allows a Celtic linguistic affiliation – *Cotto*. It should be reminded, however, that although indeed it may be of Celtic origin (see above on *Cotini*), there is nothing diagnostically Celtic in it; consider in this respect the discussion of non-Celtic *Cotensii* in FALILEYEV 2007: 27. The other name, also mentioned by Livy, *Clondicus*, is normally considered Germanic. For the discussion of *Sidones*, which are viewed as a part of the Bastarnae and sometimes analysed as Celtic in origin, see SITZMANN – GRÜNZWEIG 2008: 247–8. It is not unexpectable, therefore, that on these grounds the Bastarnae have been considered either Germanic or Celtic or both by ancient observers as well as in modern scholarship. On top of that, the mixed ethnicity of the Bastarnae was suggested, and also they have been treated as one of the peoples "zwischen Germanen and Kelten", see a concise discussion of this issue by the late M. SCHUKIN (1999), who *inter alia* states that the definition of their ethnic affiliation may well be senseless: the Bastarnae were Bastarnae. Hence, still a possibility must be admitted that the Celtic place-names along the Dniester as well as those in the Danube delta may be attributed to the "Celtic-speaking part" of the Bastarnae²⁵. Indeed, the "Galatian" menace to Olbia also has been explained for a long time by reference to the Celtic-speaking people in conjunction with the Bastarnae and Germanic tribes (see DZIGOVSKIY 2003: 13–19 with references to the earlier literature), but the nature of this conjunction is of course not identified.

However, in the latter case we have at our disposal the evidence for the presence of a specifically Celtic tribal name and therefore a tribe in the area, and this makes it likely that the toponyms in this area are connected eventually with the Britolagae rather than Bastarnae, if the former were not part of the latter, for which there is no evidence whatsoever. Moreover, there is a possibility to synchronize the data obtained from the archaeological research with the emergence of the

²⁵ This view is also advocated by Dr G. Kazakevich in his forthcoming review of FALILEYEV 2012, who also connects the Galatian menace of Olbia with the 'Thracian' Galatians, on this see below.

linguistically Celtic place-name on the banks of the Dniester recorded in Ptolemy. It should be stressed out in this respect that although there has been much work recently on the Ptolomaic representation of the area, the question of its sources and hence the time-depth of the map of the region presented in this work still are utmostly vague. For example, the references in Ptolemy both to the *Costoboci* and *Costoboci Transmontani* of northern Dacia²⁶ may probably point to two chronologically different sources the geographer used. Looking at the history of the localized sites along the Dniester mentioned by Ptolemy it is worth remarking that the III century BC is an important data which provides somewhat a common denominator. Thus, the site of Algedar (*Clepidava*) was inhabited in V-III c. BC, and the settlement Rud' (*Maetonium*) was populated up to the III c. BC although was again in use in the II c. BC – I c. AD. If *Vibantavarium* is indeed Vyhvatnisty (Ofatinti), it, once again, ceased to exist by the III c. BC. It is mostly important that Celtic archaeological finds in the Dniester / Siret area are dated to LT B₂/C₁ – C₂, that is 240/220 BC, and one may at least pose a question if the information used by Ptolemy goes back, at least partially, to the III c. BC. If we look at the Celtic presence in Dacia, it turns out that the *Anart(i)oi* mentioned by Ptolemy appear in the area according to the dates provided by archaeologists, in LT B₁/B₂ – C₁, that is 340/20 BC, and disappear from the archaeological records by 170 BC. Therefore, the Ptolemaic source(s) in this case should be dated to the beginning of the IV – end of the II BC, and the III c. suggested by the data of the Dniester settlements fits this chronological span perfectly.

It is also important that archaeological research claims that the data at our disposal tells us that the *Anart(i)oi* disappear from the archaeological records without any trace of assimilation by the indigenous population. As it is most unlikely that they were exterminated, *exodus* seems to be a more reasonable scenario, and if it or part of it is to be dated to the III c. BC, that may possibly be synchronised with the appearance of some Celtic-speaking peoples in the Dniester area. One step further, and these Celtic speakers of the Dniester areas may be identified with the *Galatai* which were the menace of the Greek colony of Olbia on the northern coast of the Black Sea as reported by the famous Protogenes's decree. The decree, which remains up to now the only epigraphic evidence for the Celtic presence in the northern Black Sea littoral (cf. IVANTCHIK – FALILEYEV 2012) is traditionally dated to mid III c. – ca. 214–212, although the beginning

²⁶ The tribal name has been sometimes considered as Celtic, although such identification is of course erroneous, see FALILEYEV 2007: 26–27 where further references are provided.

of the II century BC has been also suggested, and with the date accepted by the majority of scholars it seems possible hence to accept the “Dniestrian Celts” as the *Galatai* of the decree. In any event, it is obvious that the *Galatai* of the Olbian inscription have nothing to do either with the Galatians of Asia Minor or with the “Celtic Kingdom” with its capital in Tylis in Thrace, and the Celts of the Dniester and / or the Danube delta should be considered here instead.

Further East: Ukraine

Archaeologists have argued that the area around ancient Olbia in the vicinity of modern Mykolaiv in Ukraine is noted for archaeological finds which may be associated with a Celtic presence (*Map 5*). Their interpretations vary, see e.g., KAZAKEVICH 2012: 201, where it is stated that “there are no objects found in Olbia which may be evidently considered as imports from the Celtic lands. However, the Greek colony played a role of a production centre for the local La Tène-like goods”. It also has been noted that certain fortifications in the area have been claimed to have “Celtic” associations, see references in FALILEYEV 2013a: 95–96, and recent archaeological finds are surveyed in VOROTINSKAYA 2013. As discussed above, the Celts / Galatians were a noticeable menace to Olbia as the famous decree tells us, and the relationship of the Greek city with the above mentioned undeniably Celtic Britolagi has been discussed also (e.g., DZIGOVSKIY 2003: 19).

It is worth of note in this respect that most recently Professor V. BLAŽEK (2012) has added to the existing and rather insignificant list of the toponyms of Celtic origins attested in the Ukraine (*Carrodunum* and *Aliobrix* discussed above) three place-names which are located in vicinity of Olbia and do indeed form an enclave. Although this opinion appeared in print as only a rather lengthy abstract of a conference paper, it seems possible to offer some tentative comments on these considerations. The three place-names V. BLAŽEK (2012: 12) discusses are mentioned only in the following passage of the “Geography” by Ptolemy (III, 5, 15, STÜCKELBERGER – GRASSHOFF 2006: 306, cf. MÜLLER 1883: 433–4):

καὶ πρὸς τῇ ἐκτροπῇ τοῦ Βορυσθένους ποταμοῦ

Λήινον πόλις	$\nu\delta^\circ$	$\nu^\circ\delta'$
Σάρβακον	$\nu\varepsilon^\circ$	ν°
Νίοσσον	$\nu\varsigma^\circ$	$\mu\theta^\circ\gamma\circ'$

It should be remarked right in the beginning that the identification of these settlements recorded by Ptolemy is nowadays much more precise than it was in 1799–1829 or 1854, when the works Blažek refers to were published. Thus, according to V. ZUBAREV (2005: 176–7), *Leinum town* may be identified with the settlement of Znamenskoye, *Sarbacum* with Konsulovskoye settlement, *Niosson* with either Ponyatovka or Nikolayevskoye settlement, along a Roman *castellum* in their vicinity. The settlements are located at the important strategic points along the Dnieper, and are traditionally considered as “Late Scythian”. The sites were the focus of the attention of archaeologists for several decades, and the analysis of the data unearthed there has shown that the most probable date for their foundation is the I c. BC, with a single exception – Znamenskoye was founded in the second half of the II c. BC, see BYLKOVA 2007 with further references.

It may be noted immediately that *Leinum*, *Niossum* and *Sarbacum* have been never considered Celtic in recent scholarship. They are not analysed as such in the comprehensive survey of Celtic geographical names recorded by Ptolemy by G. R. ISAAC (2004), and P. SIMS-WILLIAMS (2006: 220) only notices in his fundamental research the guttural extension of *Sarbacum*, which does not make the place-name by default Celtic and is found in other idioms used in the area, particularly Iranian. Information of extra-linguistic nature also does not point to the presence of the Celtic-speakers in the area: G. KAZAKEVICH (2012: 199) notes only a couple of artifacts unearthed in the area (stray finds) which may be archaeologically relevant and remarks that the “cultural context is unknown”. According to V. BYLKOVA (2007: 109), the settlements were founded by the Scythian newcomers from Dobrudja, and these were in contact with Thracians, Greeks and even the Bastarnae. The hypothesis was welcomed by S. TOKHTASEV (2013: 572), who noticed, however, that further work on the dating of the material culture from these sites is necessary to prove it, particularly for the site at Znamenskoye. We are aware of the Celtic presence in the Danube delta (see above), but to claim a Celtic-speaking presence in the above movement, to say nothing about their responsibility for giving names to the places along the lower Dnieper, would be impossible to prove. Moreover, S. TOKHTASEV (2013: 573–576) suggests that the founders of these settlements could well be local Iranian-speaking tribes (with a possible Getic influx), known to the Classical world as μιξέλληνες. With this historic scenario the “Celtic” factor in place-naming should be completely ignored. Alternatively, as this scholar suggests, the emergence of the settlements may also be associated with the Scythians of the

Crimea (TOKHTASEV 2013: 589). There are some traces of linguistic Celticity in this area to be discussed below. However, Tokhtasev stresses that the incomers from Taurida could be viewed only as a core of the local garrisons, and notes the absence of links in material culture between the settlements at the Lower Dnieper and the Crimea, admitting possibly a mixed character of the population which comprised the possible comers from the Crimea and the μιξέλληνες. In any event, traces of the speakers of a Celtic idiom in this region are far from established.

As for the list of place-names claimed to be Celtic by Professor Blažek, the following observations may be made. As V. Blažek maintains, *Leinum* may reflect Celtic **leino-* (cf. Old Irish *lían*, Welsh *llwyn*), and “compatible is the toponym *Leignon*, AD 746 *Lenione*, from the Belgium province Namur”. There may be several objections to such a conclusion. To start with, the Common Celtic form which should be **lēno-* this is not recognized in MATASOVIĆ 2009. As for the adduced *comparanda*, it is not as straightforward as Blažek seems to think. Thus, the Irish word which is traced to PIE **lei-* ‘eingehen’, etc., in IEW: 661, is found only in medieval glossaries, where it glosses Ir *áilgen* ‘mild’, and is also suspected to be a Latin borrowing (cf. DE BERNARDO STEMPPEL 1999: 470). The unrelated Welsh *llwyn* ‘shrub, bush, grove’, which indeed is well attested, for example, in Welsh geographical names (see e.g., CHARLES 1992: 793) has been explained in various ways, and also as a Latin loan, see Schrijver 1995: 357 and 431 which *inter alia* may jeopardise the reconstruction of the entry Gaulish **leno-* ‘forest’ (< **lēno-*) in DLG: 435, at least semantically. One may note in this respect that X. DELAMARRE (2012: 174) derives the quoted toponymic *comparanda* from a personal name *Lēnius*; for the discussion of IE **ē* and **ei* in Celtic and their representation in Gaulish see SIMS-WILLIAMS 2007: 313–15. Although its interpretation may be difficult, its distribution is in favour of its Gaulish provenance (see references in DELAMARRE 2007: 116). Still it is not clear at all why the place-name on the shores of Dnieper should be analysed as belonging here and not, say, as Iranian, and at any rate its compatibility with *Leignon* is not self-evident.

Sarbacum is compared by V. BLAŽEK (2012: 12) with the Gaulish river name *Saravus* (modern Saar), and is explained as “the ‘Old European’ hydronym, extended by the typical Celtic suffix *-āko- (Holder I, 20–32)”. The validity of this derivation of a settlement name from the river name already may be questioned in view of the arguments presented above. As for the river-name itself (for *Saravus*, which may in fact be Celtic, see DCC: 196), the sound changes underlying *Sarb-* are totally unmotivated. Alternatively, as Blažek suggests, “the

metathetical form may be primary: Báρσακов (GGR), cf. Breton *barrek* “comble, plein jusqu’aux bords” < **barrāko-* : *barr* “point, top”; *-rs-* is preserved e.g. in the island-name *Barsa* between Britain and Gaul (*Itinerarium Antonini*; see Holder 352–54; MATASOVIĆ 2009, 58)”. Gaulish **barr-* is of course known (see DLG: 68, DCC: 69 or GREULE 2010: 10), but the Breton example is irrelevant for the present discussion as it in no way explains the Ptolemaic form. As for the preservation of the combination of the resonant and sibilant, it was noted by D. Ellis Evans (GPN: 399) that “there is some evidence which suggests that *rs* was retained in early Gaulish. Later it appears as *rr*”, and therefore in theory the attested form may preserve the earlier *-rs-* intact. One may also note the difficulties pertaining to the analysis of *Barsa* which were coherently studied by R. COATES (1991: 12–14), who also admitted that it may be of non-Celtic origin. It should be stressed out that the spelling Báρσακов is known only in the secondary manuscripts of Ptolemy (see MÜLLER 1883: 434), and therefore it is ultimately dangerous to consider it a primary form. Moreover, as the suffix *-ak-* is well known in Iranian and attested in Scythian and Sarmatian (note in this respect the discussion of the ethnic name *Siraci* in the East Azov area, for which below, and which is of course non-Celtic, in SIMS-WILLIAMS 2006: 220) it is safe on balance to consider the form non-Celtic.

And, finally, Blažek aptly notes that *Niossum* was included by A. Holder (II: 749) in his Celtic compendium although with a question mark and without any comment, and suggests that it may reflect the underlying Celtic **neuiosson* < **neuijo-st(H₂)o-m* ‘new-standing’: “similarly maybe *Tagassus*, the derivative of the hydronym *Tagus* (Holder II, 1700f)”. For the suffix see the recent discussion in DELAMARRE 2010–12: 120–124. The river-name *Tagus* (modern Tejo / Tajo in Spain and Portugal) indeed may be in fact Celtic, although other approaches to its treatment are known (DCC: 211). However, the context in which the *Tagassus* occurs ([*Ca*]ecilius Cassibr[--] / [---]atio *Tagassi filius*) *Bitullae*, CIL XII, 3003) makes the derivation suggested by Blažek totally unlikely. Moreover, the diphthong *-ou-* is rather expected if the form is really Gaulish. There are certain variations in the representation of Celtic **nouijo-* in Gaulish toponymy, also resulting from textual corruption in the sources they occur, see e.g., DCC: 170–171 s.vv. *Neviiodunum*, *Nogeomagus*, *Noiodounon*, *Noiomagos*, and cf. FALILEYEV 2003: 213–14, but to explain along the same lines *Niossum* does not seem to be viable as the place-name may well be of non-Celtic origin. Therefore, Gaulish linguistic attribution of the place-names in the vicinity of ancient Olbia seems unlikely.

The Most Eastern European Celts?

There is some evidence, however, that in our search for the most eastern European Celts we can go even further. Thus, the following passage from Pausanias (I, 35, 5)²⁷ informs us that

ἐγὼ δέ, ὅπόσοι μὲν οἰκοῦσιν ἔσχατοι Κελτῶν ἔχοντες ὄμορον τῇ διὰ κρυμὸν ἐρήμῳ, οὓς Καβαρεῖς ὀνομάζουσι, τούτων μὲν οὐκ ἐθαύμασα τὸ μῆκος, οἵ νεκρῶν οὐδέν τι διαφόρως ἔχουσιν Αἴγυπτιών: ὅπόσα δὲ ἄξια ἐφαίνετο εἶναι μοι θέας, διηγήσομαι.

"I saw nothing to wonder at in the stature of those Celts who live farthest off on the borders of the land which is uninhabited because of the cold; these people, the *Cabares*, are no bigger than Egyptian corpses. But I will relate all that appeared to me worth seeing."

Although some scholars identified the *Cabares* with the Gaulish *Cavares* (on which see DCC: 96), or otherwise sought to place them in the northern Balkans, it is likely that in this fragment Pausanias does not deal with the ethnic name as such at all, but rather with the appellative it is derived from. Thus we probably have a reference to the Celtic-speakers' heroes (rather than giants) dwelling in the cold borders of the *oikumene*, see FALILEYEV 2013a: 92–93. Of course this rather vague statement is deprived of chronological boundaries and indications and therefore cannot be transferred into geographical grids. Therefore, is not really helpful for the present discussion.

However, a number of sources, both historical and linguistic, point to the presence of the Celtic speaking peoples even as far as the modern Lake of Azov (*Map 5*). The nature of the sources and the information presented in them, as we know, prevents us from a final solution of this problem; for archaeological evidence see also a very useful summary in KAZAKEVICH 2012: 186f. and cf. CLERC 2009: 73–74. The cumulative force of the evidence, nevertheless, is striking. As I have discussed this question of the presence of Celts near the ancient Maeotic lake on several occasions (FALILEYEV 2012: 20–25 and 214–219, FALILEYEV 2013a) below a brief synopsis of the analysis is offered and the interested reader will find discussion as well as further bibliography in the works referred to.

²⁷ The text is provided following the edition: Pausanias. *Description de la Grèce*. Tom I. Livre I. L'Attique. Ed. M. Casevitz; comment. F. Chamoux. Paris 1992 ; the translation is that by W. H. S. Jones, *Pausanias. Description of Greece* (London and New York, 1918), p. 191. Emphasis is added.

The first piece of evidence which may be used to support the thesis on the Celtic presence in the area belongs to Plutarch, who in his “Life of Marius” (Mar. XI) tells us²⁸:

“But there are some who say that Gaul was wide and large enough to reach from the outer sea and the subarctic regions to the *Maeotic Lake* on the east, where it bordered on Pontic Scythia, and that from that point on Gauls and Scythians were mingled. These mixed Gauls and Scythians had left their home and moved westward, not in a single march, nor even continuously, but with each recurring spring they had gone forward, fighting their way, and in the course of time had crossed the continent. Therefore, while they had many different names for different detachments, they called their whole army by the general name of *Galloscythians* (Κελτοσκύθαις)”.

The Galloscythians (Celto-Scythians) are of course the crux of this passage, and a number of entities different from the “proper Celts” – Cimmerians, Cimbri, etc. – has been considered in the discussion of the fragment, see DOBESCH 1995: 53–58 for a comprehensive analysis and further references. It is worth noting in parenthesis that at least some archaeologists are in favour of tracing the Celto-Scythian *co-habitat* in the archaeological record.

The second piece of evidence comes from the Peutinger Map, where the fragment VII. 5 contains *Tanasis. Galatiae* which at face value directly associates Tanais with the Galatians. As we know, there are several interpretations of this passage available. Thus it has been already suggested by A. Podosinov that the *Galatiae* of the map stands in fact for *Gazaria ‘Khazaria’* in view of *Gazari* in the Ravenna Cosmography, or that it was simply transposed by the compilior from the southern shores of the Black sea, viz. from Asia Minor to its northern bank, as happened with e. g., Trapezun. However, there is still a possibility that the fragment may be read as it stands, and of course the term Galatia does not uniquely and solely refer to the Celtic settlement of Asia Minor: as we know, Plutarch calls the territory of the Danubian Scordisci “Lower Galatia” (Plut. *Aem. Paul.* 9 διὰ τῆς κάτω Γαλατίας), for which see above. Moreover, this piece of evidence finds a match in a Byzantine list of metonomasies known as “Notitia

²⁸ The translation by B. Perrin is quoted from *Plutarch, Lives*, vol. 9 (London and Cambridge, Mass., 1920), p. 489; emphasis is added.

episcopatum” which was edited and studied by A. Diller, and which contains Μαιώτις λίμνη ἡ νῦν Γαλατία (var. Γαλλαντία). According to DILLER (1970: 38), this particular entry is “a crux”. Notwithstanding a number of reservations it seems possible, on balance, that these pieces of evidence may at least in theory point to the existence of a “Celtic” enclave in the area, and various explanations based on the interpretations of archaeological and historical facts have been adduced.

For our search of the most eastern Celtic evidence the sources outlined above are definitely secondary, as the *lexica* they make use of reflect Latinate or Greek descriptive terms. However, these purely historical observations may find additional support in the following passage of *De origine actibusque Getarum* by the VI c. historian Jordanes (126)²⁹:

<i>Nam mox ingentem illam paludem transierunt, illico Alpidzuros Alcildzuros Itimaro Tuncarsos et Boiscos, qui ripae istius Scythiae insedebant, quasi quidam turbo gentium rapuerunt.</i>	“Like a whirlwind of nations they (the Huns) swept across the great swamp (i.e. Azov sea) and at once fell upon the Alpidzuri, Alcildzuri, Itimari, Tuncarsi and Boisci, who bordered on that part of Scythia.”
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The linguistic Celticity of the ethnic name *Boisci* found in this passage, which was considered already by A. Holder (I: 475), is normally accepted in modern literature. The fragment intriguingly contains also one more name which allows a Celtic interpretation, viz. *Itimari* if it goes back to **itu-* (< *pi-tú-* < **peiH-*) & *-*māro-*. Whatever the exact meaning of the tribal name *Itimari* is, it is remarkable that its comparison with that of the *Boisci* may reflect some interesting and intriguing systematic relationships. If the *Boisci* in fact means ‘the fighters’ (**bhoiH-o-* < **bheiH-* LIV: 72, or **bhog-yo-* < **bheg-* LIV: 66, see further DCC: 77), it is matched by the possible belligerent semantics of *Itimari* (Gaulish **itu-* < *pi-tú-* < **peiH-* ‘swell up’ LIV: 464 cf. *Belgi* < **bhelg̚h-* ‘swell’ LIV: 73–5). If the former name denotes ‘cow-men, men of property’ (this approach is recently advocated in KOCH *et al.* 2007: 24), the latter may offer a contrast in the same semantic field of agricultural activities referring to the field crop cultivators *vel sim.*, cf. OIr *ith* ‘corn, grain, seed’ or Old Cornish *yd gl. seges* from the same **pi-*

²⁹ Jordanis *De origine actibusque getarum*. Ed. F. Giunta, A. Grillone. Roma, 1991, p. 55; translation of Charles Christopher Mierow, *The Gothic History of Jordanes* (Princeton, 1915), p. 86).

tú- < **peiH-* ‘swell up’³⁰. Similar semantic motivation is known for the naming of Celtic tribes, see DE BERNARDO STEMPEL 2008: 105–106.

It should be kept in mind, however, that there still cannot be any certainty that these two tribes and hence the corresponding ethnic names should be located in the area of the Azov sea. In this respect one should also consider the fact that there are no linguistic traces of Celtic presence around *Maeotis lacus* and indeed in the Crimea. Although attempts still appear sporadically to explain *Taurica*, *Tauri*, etc., as Celtic (cf. e.g., STRIŽAK 1988: 81–82), this is certainly incorrect, and as P. SIMS-WILLIAMS (2006: 220) notes, judging by the data considered in the Barrington Atlas for southern Ukraine, the Celticity of this area is non-existent. As for the unlocated place-names, *Boiov* in *Taurica* (Ptol. III, 6, 5) may have certain Gaulish associations, but this looks like a sheer coincidence, and similar place-names are known in the Greek-speaking areas, cf. SIMS-WILLIAMS 2006: 263. Moreover, its identification with the Hellenistic settlement in the vicinity of the village of Ogonki suggested in ZUBAREV 2005: 276 may suggest the Greek origin of the place-name. At face value the ethnic name *Siraci* may be analysed as Celtic, too. It may remind us of a derivarive with a wide-spread suffix *-āko- from Celt. **sīro-* ‘long’, and as P. SIMS-WILLIAMS (2006: 220) admits, if it “were Celtic (...) it might be a Celtic name referring to a ‘distant’ tribe”. The name is definitely Iranian, though, and it is difficult not to agree with Sims-Williams (*loc. cit.*) that both *Siraci* (for which see recently TOKHTASEV 2013: 585) and *Erkabon* in the vicinity of Perekop (for the attempts to localize it more precisely see ZUBAREV 2005: 226) should not be considered in the discussions of the linguistic Celticity of the region.

Ironically, the latter has been recently treated as Celtic: according to V. BLAŽEK – O. ŠEFČÍK (2011: 242), “it is etymologizable as a “salmon’s river”, cf. Old Irish *erc* “salmon, perch””. Gaulish **erc-* is to my knowledge unknown from other sources and this sole attestation of the place-name is problematic for any linguistic discussion. One may be reminded here of another toponym recorded only by Ptolemy, ”Avavov (II, 11, 15, var. ”Avabov), the variant reading of which surely resembles the place-name from the Crimea. It has been suggested,

³⁰ Cf. FALILEYEV 2013a and note BICHLMEIER 2009: 40–41. Although the ethnic name may recall the OIr adjective *ithemar* ‘given to over-eating, greedy’, the second part of which also goes back to Celtic **māro-*, the first components of the two forms are different; on the Irish word see WODTKO 1995: 318. A derivation of Celt. **bojo-* from the PIE word ‘to live’ suggested in BAMMESBERGER 1997: 64 is accepted in BLAŽEK 2010: 23–24.

though, that it is identical with *Azao* in Pannonia (see references in RASCH 2005: 15 and cf. Isaac 2004 s.v., and for the latter see above). Still, however, P. ANREITER (2001: 23) is not totally sure of this equation while in KLEINEBERG *et al.* 2010: 60 the place-name is localized in Komarno (Slovakia), where we most definitely find *Celemantia* instead of it. All these uncertainties and mutually controversial attempts to localize the place and / or identify it with other toponyms make further research totally insecure, and a Celtic etymology of *Erkabon*, which may well conceal quite a different and even unpredictable form, shares the same difficulty.

It is finally important that the earlier reference to the tribes with Celtic ethnic names occurs in the same historical but geographically different setting. Indeed, according to the V c. AD historian Priscus³¹,

"Οτι 'Ροῦα βασιλεύοντος Οὖννων, 'Αμιλζούροις καὶ 'Ιτιμάροις καὶ Τούνσουρσι καὶ Βοίσκοις καὶ ἐτέροις ἔθνεσι προσοικοῦσι τὸν "Ιστρον καὶ ἐς τὴν 'Ρωμαίων ὁμαίχμιαν καταφυγγάνουσιν

"When Rua was king of the Huns, the Amilzuri, Itimari, Tounsources, Boisci and other tribes who were living near to the Danube were fleeing to fight on the side of the Romans."

The vicinity to the Danube, as reported by Priscus, may presuppose quite a distance, but this evidence could also be taken literary. Therefore, if we follow this author, the limit of the distribution of linguistically Celtic geographical names will roughly coincide with the area advocated for Celtic presence along the Dniester (Tyras) in Moldova and Ukraine, and possibly slightly to the east of it. If Jordanes is to be followed, that may take us in the search of the most eastern Celts as far as the Lake of Azov, and the Itimari and Boisci are to be considered to represent, at least for today, the most eastern linguistically Celtic ethnic names in Europe.

³¹ R. C. Blockley, *The fragmentary classicising historians of the later Roman Empire*. II. Text, Translation and Historiographical Notes (Liverpool, 1983), 223–4. Modern editions of the text include Priscus Panita, *Excerpta et fragmenta*, ed. Carolla Pia (Berlin, New-York, 2008) and *Prisci Panitae Fragmenta*, ed. Fritz Bornman (Florence, 1979), from which the Greek text is quoted.

IV. “Eastern Celtic” Linguistic Data: Some Aspects of Word Formation

The earliest Celtic linguistic data of Central and Eastern Europe surveyed above requires some purely linguistic discussion. As we have seen, there is not a single specific trait in it which may allow its differentiation from the data obtained, say, from Gaul on the phonetic level. As for the morphology of the geographical names, it shows the same variety as also known in the “Celtic West”, where identical morphological models are attested. This is altogether expected: the emergence of the names in the areas discussed is normally connected with the migrant Gaulish-speakers, and although there cannot be any doubt on the existence of dialects of the language and chronological variations in its history (for periods of Gaulish linguistic history see most recently STIFTER 2012: 523–527), this general uniformity is expectable, as toponyms of course belong to the most conservative layer of the language.

Therefore it is adequate to acknowledge that the ‘Gaulish-speaking’ East provides us with relatively uniform linguistic data (cf. in this respect ESKA 2013) which could have been coined in Gaul in exactly the same way and fashion. In this respect one should consider a recent suggestion, which may speak against this uniformity. The migrational aspect of the apparently Celtic speaking population in some of the areas discussed above has been modified by Professor J. T. Koch:

“these extensive regions east and south-east of Bohemia were already within, or at least near to and in contact with, eastern Hallstatt C in the 8th and 7th centuries BC. Before that, the Hungarian Plain and Transylvania had been the core area of Late Bronze Age Urnfield culture, Hallstatt CD’s immediate forerunner, long considered a likely candidate as the original cultural context of Celtic. Therefore, the La Tène style moving into the Carpathian basin may represent a development within lands that were already partly or largely Celtic linguistically and had been so for centuries” (KOCH *et al.* 2007: 13).

It cannot be denied that the regions named here were inhabited by various peoples in pre-history, and the Urnfield horizon as well as its further chronological developments are perceived by archaeologists. However, the linguistic data at our disposal does not show any discrepancy which may be explained chronologically.

As the ethos of the present work does not allow to comment on the linguistic affiliation of Hallstatt or Urnfield cultures (cf. SIMS-WILLIAMS 2012) while La Tène plays only a supportive role for the establishment of “Celticity” on linguistic principles, this statement cannot be commented on here.

As Gaulish morphology in general still remains a Cinderella of Celtic studies, it is appropriate to offer a concise analysis of the morphological patterns attested in Gaulish data of Central and Eastern Europe.

Compounds

Morphological compounds in Gaulish have been carefully studied, particularly by K. H. Schmidt (KGP) and D. Ellis Evans (GPN); compounded forms, normally in comparative perspective, are analysed in a wide range of recent publications, cf. also ZIMMER 2000: 1–226 for an extremely useful survey. As noted above, it is the compounded forms that allow the easiest segmentation of the Celtic data from the onomastic landscape of Central and Eastern Europe. Some of them are in fact trivial and are holistically attested elsewhere in Europe, particularly in Gaul and Britannia. Others contain just one recognizable component within the known morphological pattern, with its other part being either non-Celtic or Celtic but disputable. These two groups can be easily illustrated by the compounded place-names with **dūno-* ‘fort’ as the second component. Some other compounds are attested only in this part of Europe and the interpretation of their components, and hence of the complete geographical name may be different. And, of course, there are the so-called ‘Verdunkelte Komposita’, and geographical names which may be analysed either as morphologically compounded or as simplexes containing chains of suffixes.

The most recognizable Celtic compounded toponyms in Eastern and Central Europe are those with *dūno-* ‘fort’, on which see DCC: 18. Although in certain “Paleobalkan” languages a similar looking component of geographical names -δῶν, -δον- (cf. Greek χθόνων) is attested, and attempts are known to apply it to the explanation of some of the Celtic data of the Eastern Balkans, this is clearly not the case, and the compounds in *-dunum* are a conspicuous illustration of Gaulish linguistic presence in the East, cf. FALILEYEV 2012: 43–52; for distribution of place-names with this component in Europe see a useful map in PARSONS 2010: 178. Some of them are transparent etymologically and find parallels in the “Celtic West”. Indeed, *Carrodunum* which is attested several times (Kam'yanets'-Podils'kyy, Hostýn, Gradina) and which is easily analysed as **carro-* ‘cart, chariot’

& **dūno-* ‘fort’, and *Lugidunum* (Bakov nad Jizerou, if it is not in fact *Lutidunum*) was also the ancient name of Katwijk in the Low Countries or Lyon in modern France (DCC: 153 and 104). *Noviodunum* (Isaccea) goes back unproblematically to **nou(i)o-* ‘new’ & **dūno-* ‘fort’, thus ‘New fort/ town’, and we find identical compounds across Europe, see GUYONVARC'H 1974 and cf. FALILEYEV 2003: 213–214, DCC: 171–172. Similarly, *Eburodunum* in the modern Czech Republic < **eburo-* (plant-name) & **dūno-* ‘fort’ was also the ancient name of for example Embrun in France or Yverdon-les-Bains in Switzerland (DCC: 118). There are several cases when the compounded form is not attested elsewhere but its first component is easily treated as Celtic, although with certain possible variations in the analysis. This group comprises two place-names from the Czech Republic discussed above, *Meliadunum* and *Lutidunum* (if *Lugidunum* is not a correct form), and *Icacidunum* from modern Bulgaria which may contain a personal / tribal name as the first component, or else a common noun, see FALILEYEV 2013: 77–78. At least two compounded toponyms with *-dunum* contain a non-Celtic component: *Capedunon* and *Singidunum* from Serbia. Formally, however, these endocentric compounds with a nominal or adjectival first component, even if it is not Celtic (cf. in this respect combinations of *-dunum* with Imperial names, e.g., *Augustodunum*, DCC: 62), are diagnostically Gaulish.

The same may be said of the compounded form with **rigo-* as the second component, for which see SIMS-WILLIAMS 2006: 102, where it glossed as ‘king’ or RASCH 2005: 141 for the meaning ‘Reich, Herrschaft’, represented e.g., by *Icorigium* (DCC: 134). *Boudorigon*, which is not known in Gaul or Britain, clearly belongs here if it does not of course stand for *Boudoriton*, then ‘ford of victory, victorious ford’ *vel sim.* In the latter case it also fits the model witnessed by the Gaulish toponymy in the West, cf. *Novioritum* ‘new fort’ which is modern Niort in France (DCC: 173); for *Locoriton* see DE BERNARDO STEMPLE 2008a: 187.

There are several other Celtic endocentric compounded toponyms in Eastern and Central Europe and these are of paramount importance as they do not have exact matches in the “Celtic West” and are in fact the sole attestations. Thus, *Lucunanta* in modern western Bulgaria reflects **leuco-*, *louco-*, *lūcā-* & **nantu-*, and may be interpreted as ‘bright valley’, but also as a ‘dark valley’, ‘marshy valley’, ‘valley of the ravens’ or ‘valley of warriors’, ‘valley of lynxes’ and ‘valley of wolves’, see FALILEYEV 2013: 83–84. Gaulish **nantu-* ‘valley, water-course’ (cf. W. *nant* ‘id.’) is indeed attested in Gaulish toponyms (see SIMS-WILLIAMS 2006: 93 with further references), but similar compounded models

with the component are actually restricted. One may consider here, for example, the prehistory of the modern place-name Dinan in France, which was sometimes traced to **divo-nant-* ‘sacred valley’ *vel sim.*, but there are other explanations available, see BILLY 2011: 230. *Vibantavarium* in modern Republic of Moldova if Celtic may be analysed as a compound with the second component **(-)varia-* ‘enclosure, defense’, and the first part reflects PIE **uieh₁-* ‘umwickeln, umhüllen’, see further FALILEYEV 2007: 18–20. *Arrabofl.* may go back to **ar(e)-* ‘eastern’ & **abon-* ‘river’, but see above for the alternative etymologies. *Arcuna* remains difficult, see FALILEYEV 2013: 11–13, while *Casibona* may at least in theory reflect Gaulish *cas(s)i-* & *-bona*, for the model cf. e. g., *Vindobona*, but its Celticity may be questioned.

The exocentric compounds are also attested in the geographical names of the region. If the Celtic attribution of the ethnic name *Itimari* above is correct, and if it goes back to **itu-* (<*pi-tú-* <**peiH-*) & **-māro-*, then we have a perfect example of a Bauvṛīhi compound, ‘those having great fury’ or ‘those having a lot of cereals’ *vel. sim.* For this type of compounds cf. also WODTKO 1995: 316–319 and a collection of Welsh forms in *-fawr* in ZIMMER 2000: 191–193. Gaulish **māro-* ‘big’ is possibly attested in a difficult place-name *Marobudon* from the modern Czech Republic, although, as it has been shown above, there are many possibilities for discussion of the toponym, and it is surely endocentric. *Mediolana* is a known Celtic compound, **medio-* & **lān(i)o-* ‘(settlement) in the middle of the plain’ *vel sim.*, and it is its feminine form which is remarkable: in the Celtic West this compounded toponym is neuter, see DCC: 159–160.

Eractum may be analysed as a compound with the first component **er-*, cf. G. *eri-* (< IE **peri-* IEW: 810f.) followed by the second component which is dealt with as a participle of G. **ag-* ‘to go’ (< PIE **h₂eǵ-*, LIV: 255). Semantically, then, it may be compared with the place-name *Remedotia*, and the meaning of the toponym is ‘(place) of the far-gone ones’, quite fitting for a foremost eastern Gaulish settlement. For the second component of this allegedly compounded toponym compare an exact match found in G. *ambactus* ‘servus’ < **ambi-ag-to-*, see further NIL: 276 and cf. discussion of the personal name *Ambactus* in FALILEYEV 2013: 6. *Morimarus*a contains a different type of participle as its second part, in **-us-*, which is rarely but still attested in Celtic, see references in FALILEYEV 2003: 216. Generally, this type of compound with the first nominal part followed by a participial component is well attested in Gaulish (cf. KGP: 67–68), and **mori-* & **mar(w)-us-* (for the reconstruction of the Celtic verb cf. MATASOVIĆ 2009: 259) ‘Dead sea’ is linguistically clear.

There are two compounded forms with a numeral as the first component. Of these, *Tricornium* (Ripotek) < **tri-* & *corn-* is probably indeed Celtic, but as the form and its components are fairly trivial, the toponym could have been coined at least in theory in a different language spoken in the Central Balkans. The second place-name belonging here is *Aliobrix* in the Danube area of Ukraine and its linguistic Celticity is obvious, as the toponym unproblematically reflects **h₂el-io-* (OIr *aile* ‘other’, MW *eil* ‘second’) & **brig-s*, hence “the second / other high (fortified) settlement”. Its discussion, however, may cause a different set of problems worth paying attention to. As, according to the model presented in FALILEYEV 2007: 4, *Aliobrix* is the second / other settlement after the ‘Newtown’ (*Noviodunum*), there is some confusion arising in regard of the chronological distribution of *-*brigā* and *-*dūno-* forms, the former claimed to be earlier; on this point see PARSONS 2010: 177–179. Technically it is of course possible that chronologically the foundation (or at least) linguistic coinage of this ‘Newtown’ is later than that of *Aliobrix*, and this agrees with the suggested scenario of the penetration of the Celtic speakers in the Danube delta from the north, rather from the south, as then *Aliobrix* comes first on the map, followed by *Noviodunum* and then *Arrubium*, etc. The south to north perspective makes a possible chain *Arrubium* > ‘second fort’ (*Aliobrix*) > ‘(even more) Newtown’. All these scenarios are equally possible due to our limited knowledge of the place-names in the area in antiquity and any new relevant toponym may play a conclusive role for the final solution of the problem. What is crystal clear, however, that the relative chronology of place-names in *-*brigā* and *-*dūno-*, if indeed it may be relevant in the Celtic West (which is sometimes questioned) is not relevant for the discussion of the data from the East. It is most likely that *Aliobrix* and *Noviodunum* should be attributed to the tribe Βριτολάγαι, and there are strong grounds to believe that both names were coined relatively simultaneously. The possibility that *Aliobrix* was transposed to the Danube delta with the Roman army is ultimately tiny, as there is no exact parallel in the Celtic West and it seems to be a real descriptive toponym coined in the area. It is of course notable that compounded place-names in *-*brigā* are unknown in the East (for its distribution in Western Europe cf. map in PARSONS 2010: 176 and see GREULE 2007: 203–210 for Celtic toponyms in **brig-* in Central Europe), but this may be a matter of attestation, but in any event with the data at our disposal we may speak about chronological distribution of the components, their dialect affiliation, (minor ?) difference in semantics, etc., cf. also SIMS-WILLIAMS 2006: 307–308.

Several geographical names attested uniquely in Central and Eastern Europe are most probably compounds, although their different morphological division is still not out of question. *Remetodia* (Orsoya in Bulgaria) may reflect *rēmeto- & odyā, with the first component as a dental suffixation of *rēmo- (*prei-mo-< PIE *per-), and the second component as a reflex of Celtic *odyo- ‘journey, way, road’< PIE *pod-jo- (cf. OIr (*h*)uide ‘journey, way’), therefore ‘settlement on the foremost, way, road’ *vel sim.* See further FALILEYEV – ISAAC 2006 where other possibilities for morphological analysis are surveyed and cf. DELAMARRE 20012: 220, where the toponym is straightforwardly derived from the personal name *Rēmetos*, a suggestion which we also find in the earlier literature; see also WODTKO 1995: 225f. *Tegulicum* in modern Bulgaria, if indeed Celtic, may be analysed as a compound with G. *tegos (cf. OIr *teg* ‘house’) or a reflex of a Common Celtic adjective *tegu- ‘thick’ as its first part. The second component cannot but remind us of *Arelica* and *Ariolica* in ancient Italy, but its exact interpretation is difficult. Alternatively, however, the place-name may contain a chain of suffixes *-li-ca, see FALILEYEV 2013: 137–38. Similarly, *Lussomana* (Bicske in Hungary), if Celtic, may point to *lusso- & *mano-, but the unlikely chain of suffixes here may be still expected taking into consideration that it may be a Celticized Pannonian name or *vice versa*, see above. *Arubium* (Măcin in Romania) allows a linguistic interpretation as a compound and may reflect *h₂rh₃-iū- & b^hih₂-o-, see FALILEYEV 2007: 5–7 where several possibilities, none of which could be taken as final, are discussed. *Vorovum* (Kradover in Bulgaria) may conceal *vo- ‘under’ & *oro- (the latter component remains difficult), but there are other possibilities for its analysis, see FALILEYEV 2013: 155–156. The obviously linguistically Celtic ethnic name Βριτολάγαι is definitely a compound, *brito- & *lag-, but there are apparent difficulties with the exact identification of its parts and hence the understanding of the whole form, see FALILEYEV 2007: 7–8. *Braiola* in Serbia if indeed Celtic, allows for various explanations, including that as a compound, see FALILEYEV 2013: 30–31. The tribal name *Anart(i)oi* may be analysed as a suffixal derivation in *-rt-; however, this formant has been already considered as a case of “verdunkelte Komposita”, and, moreover, the ethnic name may be seen as a compound, *An-arti-* with the famous Gaulish *artos ‘bear’, see FALILEYEV 2007: 21–23.

Affixation

As G. R. ISAAC (2004, Celtic elements, s.v. *ande-*, *ando-*) noted, “it appears to be a development peculiar to Celtic that such PIE adverbs > prefixes/adpositions in the daughter languages were also made into lexical bases in their own rights, *ambio-*, *ande-/ando-*, *ario-*, *auo-* (and *como-* in the listing of possibly Celtic elements)”. Some of these derivations have been surveyed above in the section dedicated to the compounds; for the prefix *ex-*, or, rather the lack of it in the toponymic data, see the discussion of *Scarbantia*. For the recent study of preverbs in Gaulish see WODTKO 2013.

As for suffixes, the data discussed above has the usual set of suspects. The suffix **-āko-*, which is well attested in place-name formation (see RUSSELL 1988, LAMBERT 2008: 133–137, DCC: 6, CVEP: 354) is found in several place-names in the area, but their exact interpretation is difficult. Thus, the base of *Gardellaca* (Tokod) remains linguistically obscure, but the presence of the suffix may point to a Celtic derivation. *Cornacum* (modern Sotin, cf. also the corresponding ethnic name *Cornacates*) would be undeniably entirely Celtic (*corno-* & *-āko-*) if attested in Gaul or Britain, but in the Central Balkans **corno-* may have been coined in a different language. *Burgaraca* may contain the suffix but is ultimately problematic, cf. FALILEYEV 2013: 35.

Derivations with dental suffixes which are known for all the Celtic languages (see IRSLINGER 2002) are known in the data surveyed here. Thus, a well attested in Celtic suffix **-at-* (cf. DE BERNARDO STEMPPEL 1999: 375–76) is found in several ethnic names known from the region, viz. *Hercuniates* (**erkunya* < **perkʷunyā*), *Cornacates* (to *Cornacum*), and *Aruiates* (vat. *Arinates*, *Ariuates*, *Arabiates*). The suffix is well attested in tribal name formations across Europe: for the Thracian data see DURIDANOV 1968, for similar suffixes in the early ethnic names of Eastern Europe see TOKHTAS’EV 2005: 73–84 and for a more western area COLOMBO 2010: 174–175 with further references. Suffix **-ēt-* (DE BERNARDO STEMPPEL 1999: 156) may be attested in *Brigetio* (**brig-ēt-io-*). The model is known in the Celtic west, cf. e.g., the ancient name of Paris *Lutetia*. A different analysis of the place name was suggested by E. HAMP (1990) who argued that we face here the “original formation not paralleled elsewhere”. Hamp reconstructs “a hitherto undocumented verbal noun for Continental Celtic”, and suggests **bʰr̥gʰ-tion* as a starting point which yielded *bʰer̥gʰ-e-tion* > Celtic **bergetion*; “the zero grade formation could have been revised to **brigetion*, nom. **brigitiū* (Latinate *Bregetiō*)”. The place name may also go back directly to

the corresponding personal name. A dental suffix may be identified in the ethnic name *Belgites* (var. *Uelgites*, to **belgo-*, cf. the difficult *Gallitae* in Gaul, DCC: 127), while *Setlota* (cf. Gaulish **sētlo-* ‘age’ *vel sim.*) may well be non-Celtic in view of the place-names in *-ta* (*Gerulata*, etc.). We find an *-l-* suffix in *Orcelis* (to G. **orco-*), and, possibly, an *-n-* extension in *Cambunii montes* (G. **cambo-*).

The suffix *-*isk-* which has a perfect Indo-European pedigree is attested quite frequently in the place-name formation in Eastern Europe. A considerable number of toponyms in the ancient Balkans containing the sequence *-isk-*, as *Scretisca* (south of modern Sofia), *Securisca* (in the area of Plevna), *Transmarisca* (modern Tutrakan), all in modern Bulgaria, are most certainly non-Celtic. As far as the ethnic names are concerned, it is remarkable that the suffix is attested with examples which have been long considered Celtic, as *Aravisci*, *Boisci*, *Scordisci*, and *Taurisci*. What is worth paying attention to, are the last two examples where the suffix is used together with a non-Celtic root, see discussion in FALILEYEV 2013: 117–120, while for the first quoted here ethnic name, as noted above, a non-Celtic etymology is also possible. See further discussion of this difficult suffix in FALILEYEV 2013a: 86–88.

Several toponyms of the area may be derived from corresponding personal names, note particularly in this respect *Iatumentianae* (possibly Skela in Serbia), which probably goes back to an unattested compounded anthroponym, see above. Similarly, an elsewhere unattested personal name could have been used for creation of the place-name *Magimia* in western Bulgaria. *Rittium* (Surduk), if not Pannonian, may be also based on a Celtic personal name, cf. DELAMARRE 2007: 154 for *Ritius*, *Ritus*, etc. *Cuccium* (Ilok), although traditionally viewed as “Illyrian”, may reflect a corresponding Gaulish anthroponym, see DELAMARRE 2007: 78 for its attestations. *Certia* in Romania may be connected with the personal name *Certios* well-attested in Gaul. *Rucconion* from the same area, if it does not go directly to G. **rucco-* ‘honte, rougeur’, may reflect a Gaulish anthroponym, see DELAMARRE 2007: 156 for *Rucco*, etc. The difficult *Vinceia* (Smederevo) at least reminds of some anthroponyms analysed as Celtic by X. DELAMARRE (2007: 200), and the no less difficult ’Αρδεία in north-western Bulgaria may in theory be derived from a similarly looking Gaulish personal name. This model of derivation of place-names from personal names and particularly with the help of the suffix *-*io-*, is very well attested in the Celtic West. The same model is attested in the geographical names which are not derived from the personal names, as in *Bononia*.

Extension in *-i-* is attested with tribal names, as in *Lugii*, *Boii* or (if indeed Celtic) *Harii*; note also P. Anreiter's derivation of *Catari* < **catri* < **katro-* 'strong'. There are also geographical names possibly based on the appellatives as *Solva*, which has been long compared with Celt. **selwa-* 'possession'. Termination in *-a* is also known, on the difficult *Valla* see FALILEYEV 2013: 143–144. It should be also kept in mind that the nature of sources must be taken into considerations as it is not seldom that ultimately Celtic geographical names (and ethnic names as well) are sometimes transmitted in a Latinate guise, as e.g., *Vindonianus Vicus*, *Vicus Anartorum*, or *Vorovum Minus*.

Instead of Conclusion

This work does not require a formal conclusion: it has traced the linguistic impact of the Celtic-speaking population on the toponymic landscape of ancient Eastern Europe, and by doing it has analysed ancient Gaulish place-names in this vast area. It is clear, though, that any new discovery, particularly in the field of epigraphy, may amend our knowledge of the Celtic presence in the east, and even quite considerably. There are also quite a few lines for further research. From a purely linguistic perspective one may expect alternative treatments of some place-names discussed above, and the visible recent progress in “Paleobalkan” and “Illyrian” studies may have some impact on the peculiarities of the selection of Celtic onomastic data from this extremely difficult continuum provided by the ancient sources. Further philological work on ancient and early medieval sources may be fruitful for supplementary work in this field, and further paleogeographic analysis of the location of a number of settlements, particularly those mentioned by Ptolemy, may turn extremely helpful.

For the time being, however, we are bound to admit that linguistic inquiry into the traces of “Early Celts” in the east results in outcomes which are already known to students of other disciplines. Indeed, the north-eastern border of the penetration of Celtic speakers is located in parts of modern Poland, the eastern one in the Ukraine. However, a purely linguistic approach allows us to identify a number of clusters of linguistically Celtic geographical names which presuppose the presence of Celtic-speaking people in antiquity where other sources are non-informative. And, in any event, with all the difficulties pertaining to the search of the Celts in various disciplines discussed above the linguistic data nearly uncontroversially indicates borders of the settlement of the speakers of Celtic in Eastern Europe.

My own interest in the linguistically Celtic data of Eastern and Southern Europe was awoken some fifteen year ago, when Professor Dr Andrey Sobolev asked me to survey recent publications on the linguistic Celticity of the ancient Balkans at one of the meetings of *Der Kleine Balkansprachatlas / Малый Диалектологический Атлас Балканских языков*. Later, since 2003, I was privileged to join the regular meetings of “Ptolemy workshops” and did bits and pieces of research on the marginal zones of Celtic data in the east. Several projects at the Welsh Department, Aberystwyth University supervised and run by Professor Patrick Sims-Williams and funded by the Arts & Humanities Research Council allowed me to deal comprehensively with all the data from ancient Dacia

and Scythia Minor (FALILEYEV 2007) and from the Balkans (FALILEYEV 2012 and 2013). With the present work which was part of the last project within this programme, *Gaulish Morphology with Particular Reference to Areas South and East of the Danube*, I am finishing my research on the linguistically Celtic place-names in the east.

This occasion presents me with another opportunity to thank many scholars in Eastern and Central Europe, who offered me generous help, qualified advice, and friendly stimulation while I was working on these projects. Indeed, my numerous visits during the last ten years or so to Albania, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Moldova, Montenegro, Romania, Slovakia and Serbia would have been otherwise by far less fruitful and definitely less productive. I am grateful to Dr Marius Alexianu (University “Al. I. Cuza”, Iași, Romania), Mr Bardhyll Balteza (Durrës, Albania), Mr Petar Banov (Regional Historical Museum Pleven, Bulgaria), Dr Vitalie Bârcă (Institute of Archaeology, Cluj-Napoca, Romania), Dr Dorel Bondoc (Museum of Oltenia, Craiova, Romania), Dr Gertruda Březinová (Archaeological Institute, Nitra, Slovakia), Dr Victor Cojocaru (Institute of Archaeology, Iași, Romania), Dr Gelu Florea (University “Babeș-Bolyai”, Cluj-Napoca, Romania), Dr Albina Girfanova (University of St. Petersburg, Russia), Professor Shpresa Gjongecaj (Institute of Archaeology, Tirana, Albania), Mr Vasile Haheu (Institute of Archaeology, Chișinău, Republic of Moldova), Dr Milan Harvalík (Institute of the Czech Language, Prague, Czech Republic), Professor Miltiades Hatzopoulos (Research Centre for Greek and Roman Antiquity, Athens, Greece), Dr Sergei Ivanov (Institute of Linguistic Studies, St. Petersburg, Russia), Ms Krassimira Karadimitrova (National Archaeological Institute and Museum, Sofia, Bulgaria), Professor Muzafer Kurkuti (Albanian Academy of Sciences, Tirana), Professor Alexandar Loma (Serbian Academy, Belgrade), Dr Svetlana Loma (University of Belgrade, Serbia), Dr Metodi Manov (National Archaeological Institute and Museum, Sofia, Bulgaria), Mr Miroslav Markov (Museum of Montana, Bulgaria), Dr Florian Matei-Popescu (Institute of Archaeology “Vasile Pârvan”, Bucharest, Romania), Dr Virgil Mihăilescu-Bîrliba (Institute of Archaeology, Iași, Romania), Dr Octavian Munteanu (State Pedagogical University, Chișinău, Republic of Moldova), Professor Ion Niculiță (State University of Moldova, Chișinău, Republic of Moldova), Dr Ali Nonaj (University of Tirana, Albania), Mr Luka Repanšek (Slovenian Academy of Sciences, Ljubljana), Dr Ligia Ruseu, (University “Babeș-Bolyai”, Cluj-Napoca, Romania), Dr Aurel Rustoiu (Institute of Archaeology, Cluj-Napoca, Romania), Professor Eugen Sava (National Museum of Archaeology and History of

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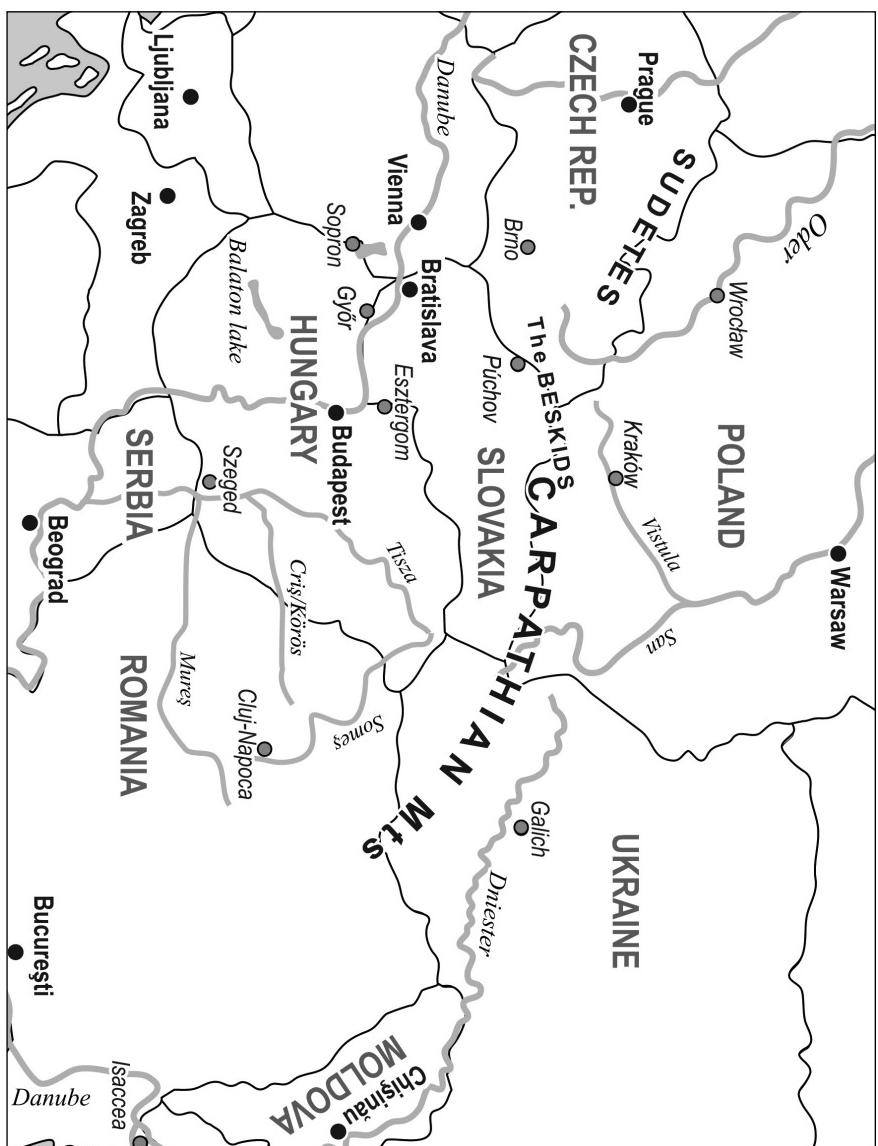
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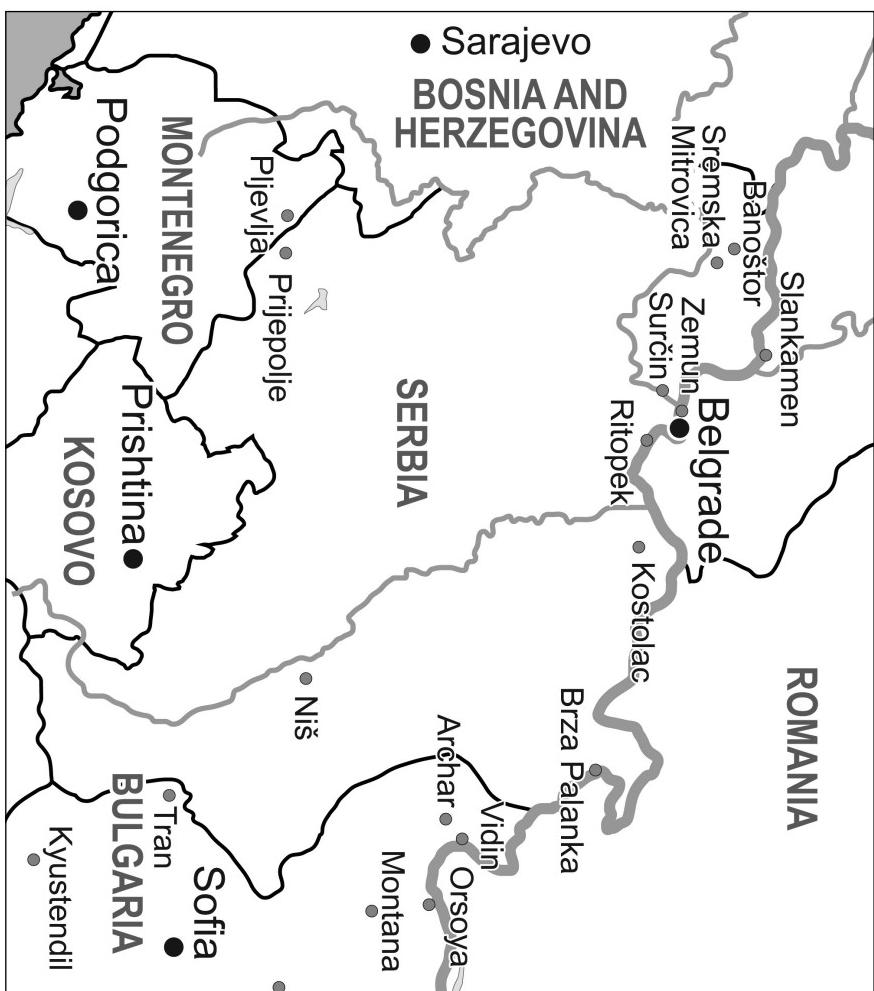
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Map 1. Eastern and Central Europe



Map 2. Central Europe



Map 3. Central Balkans

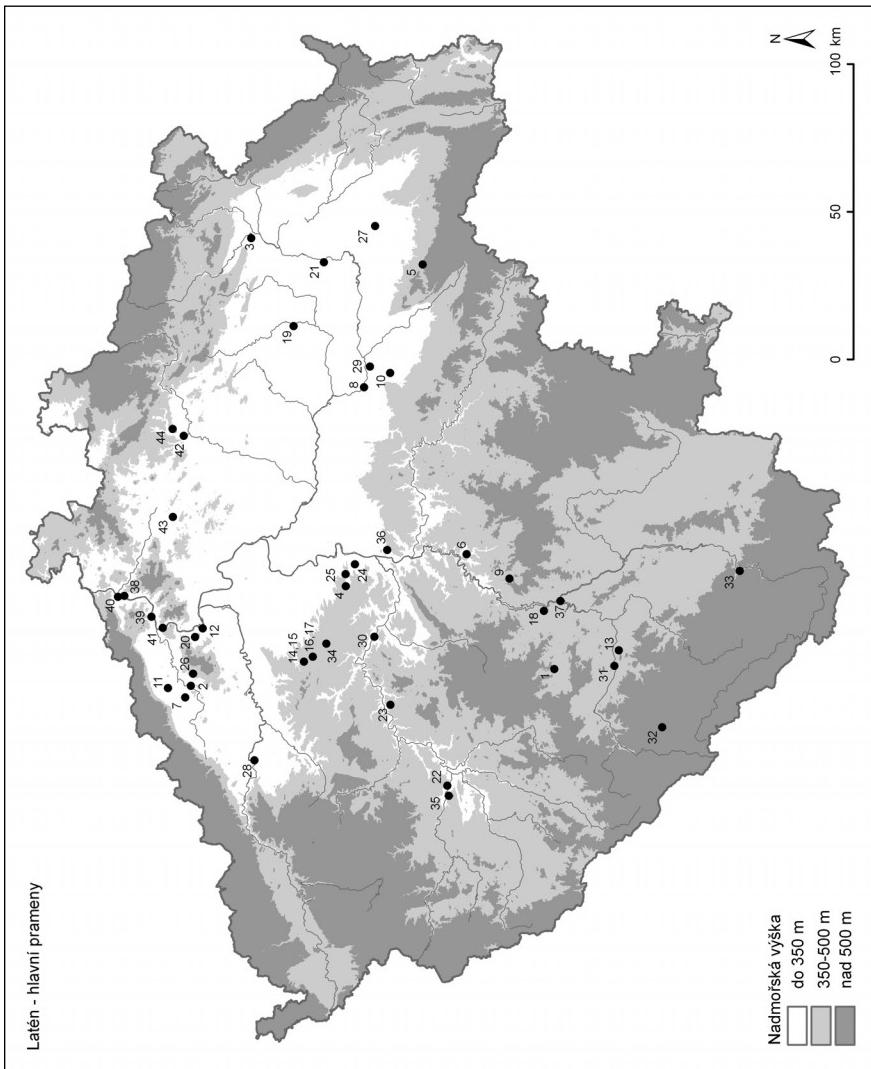


Map 4. Danube Delta and Dniester Area



Map 5. North Pontic Littoral

Map 6. Distribution of La Tène Settlements in the Czech Republic





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